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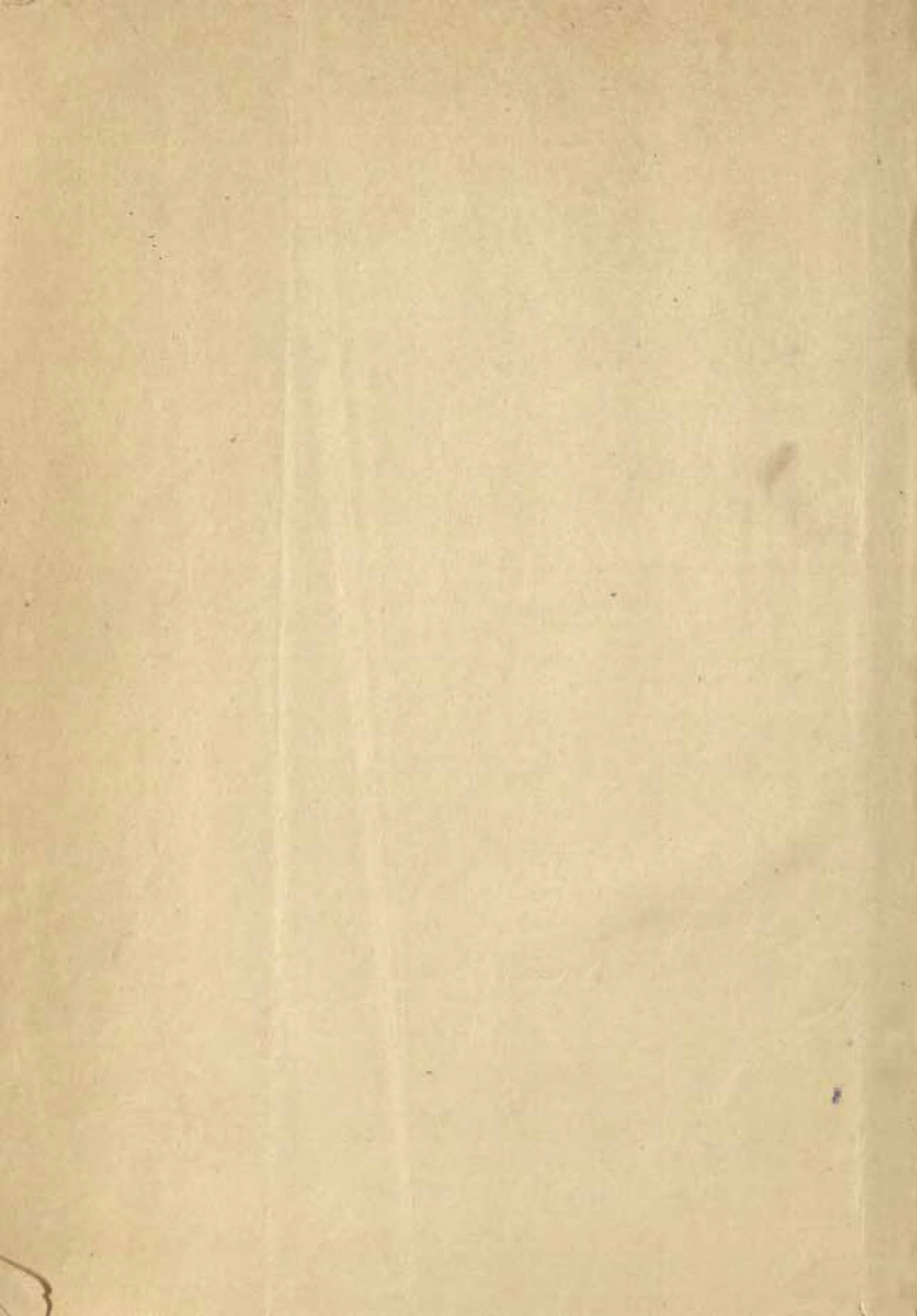
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THE

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS.

BY

A. N.
Das

19188

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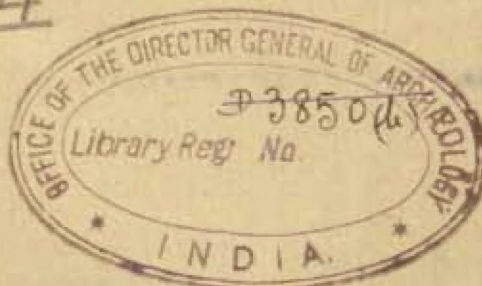
AUTHOR OF "THE ECONOMIC
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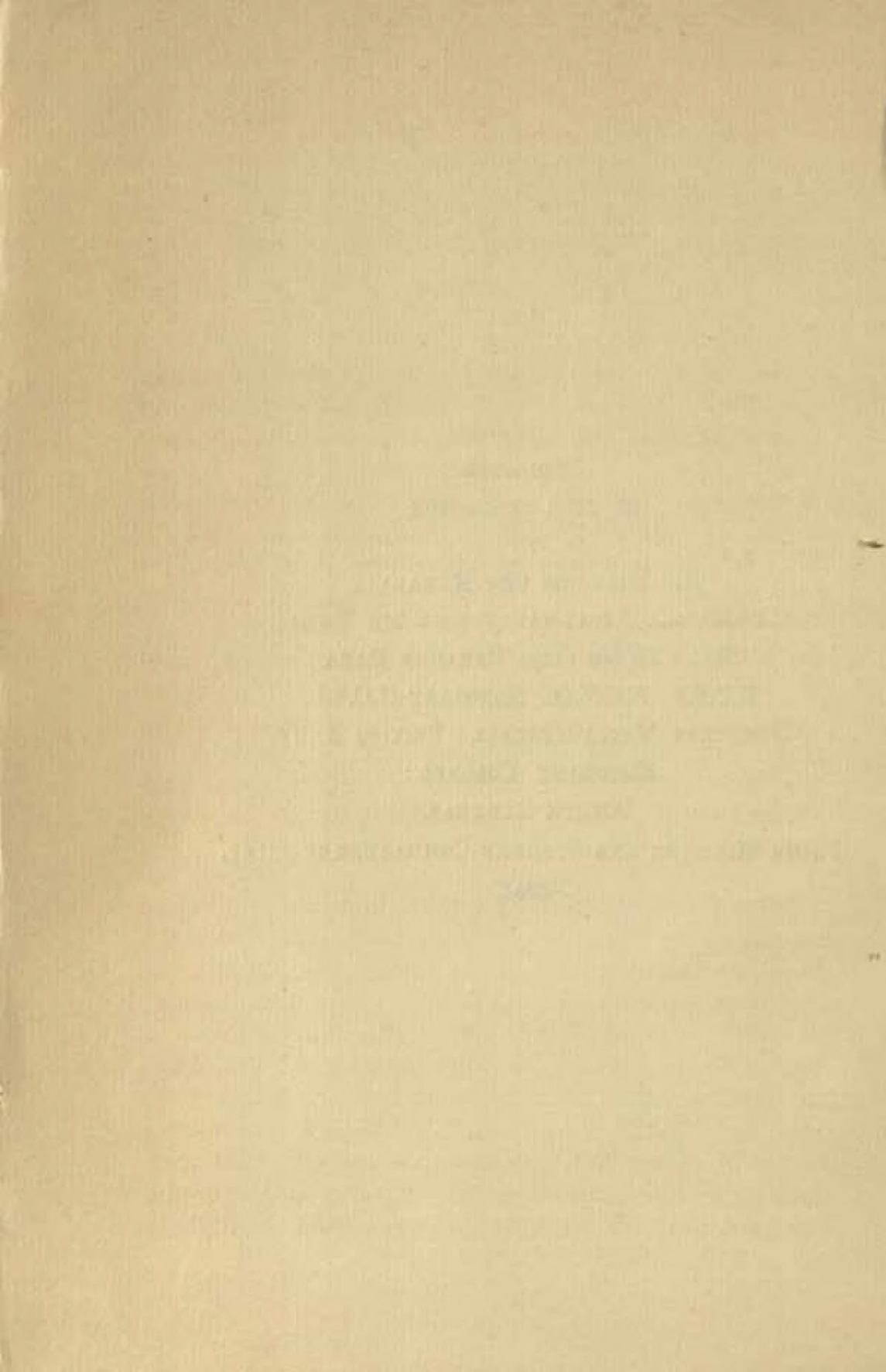


CALCUTTA.

1930.

DEDICATED
BY KIND PERMISSION
TO
HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA
PROJJVALA NEPAL-TARADHISHA SIR BHIM
SHUM SHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA
K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., HONORARY G.C.S.I.,
HONORARY MAJOR-GENERAL : BRITISH ARMY,
HONORARY COLONEL :
FOURTH GURKHAS,
PRIME MINISTER AND SUPREME COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
NEPAL.





PREFACE.

In this work an attempt has been made to furnish a comprehensive account of the Educational System of the Ancient Hindus. The difficulties of a work of this kind are considerable in India, specially in Nepal, where up to date libraries are few and far between and the verification of the references proportionately laborious and difficult. Moreover, in a secluded country like Nepal it is difficult to obtain co-operation and guidance in research from others and so the present work was conducted independently by the author from start to finish. Nevertheless, the author begs to acknowledge the invaluable help and guidance he has received from the researches of many savants, specially from those of Rev. F. E. Keay and Professors S. V. Venkateswara, Radhakumud Mukerji and Nagendra Nath Mazumdar who are the pioneers in this particular branch of Indology.

Ever since the author began this work he as a Hindu servant in the Education Department of a Hindu state like Nepal, cherished the desire that his work on the Educational System of the Ancient Hindus should, in the fitness of things, be dedicated to its Hindu ruler. The author, therefore, begs to acknowledge his heart-felt gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja Projjvala Nepal-taradhisha Sir Bhim Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana K. C. S. I., K. C. V. O., Honorary G. C. S. I., Honorary Major-General, British Army, Honorary Colonel, Fourth Gurkhas, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-chief, Nepal, for kind permission to dedicate

the work to His Highness. The author is no less indebted to His Excellency Supradipta Manyabara Sir Kaiser Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana K. B. E., General, Nepal Army, without whose princely help in the shape of books it would have been well nigh impossible for him to complete the present work. The author also takes this opportunity of expressing his heart-felt gratitude to His Excellency General Hiranya Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana for kind encouragement and sympathy which it is alike his pleasure and duty to gratefully acknowledge.

Tri-Chandra College
Nepal
The 5th August, 1930.

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Santosh Kumar Das.

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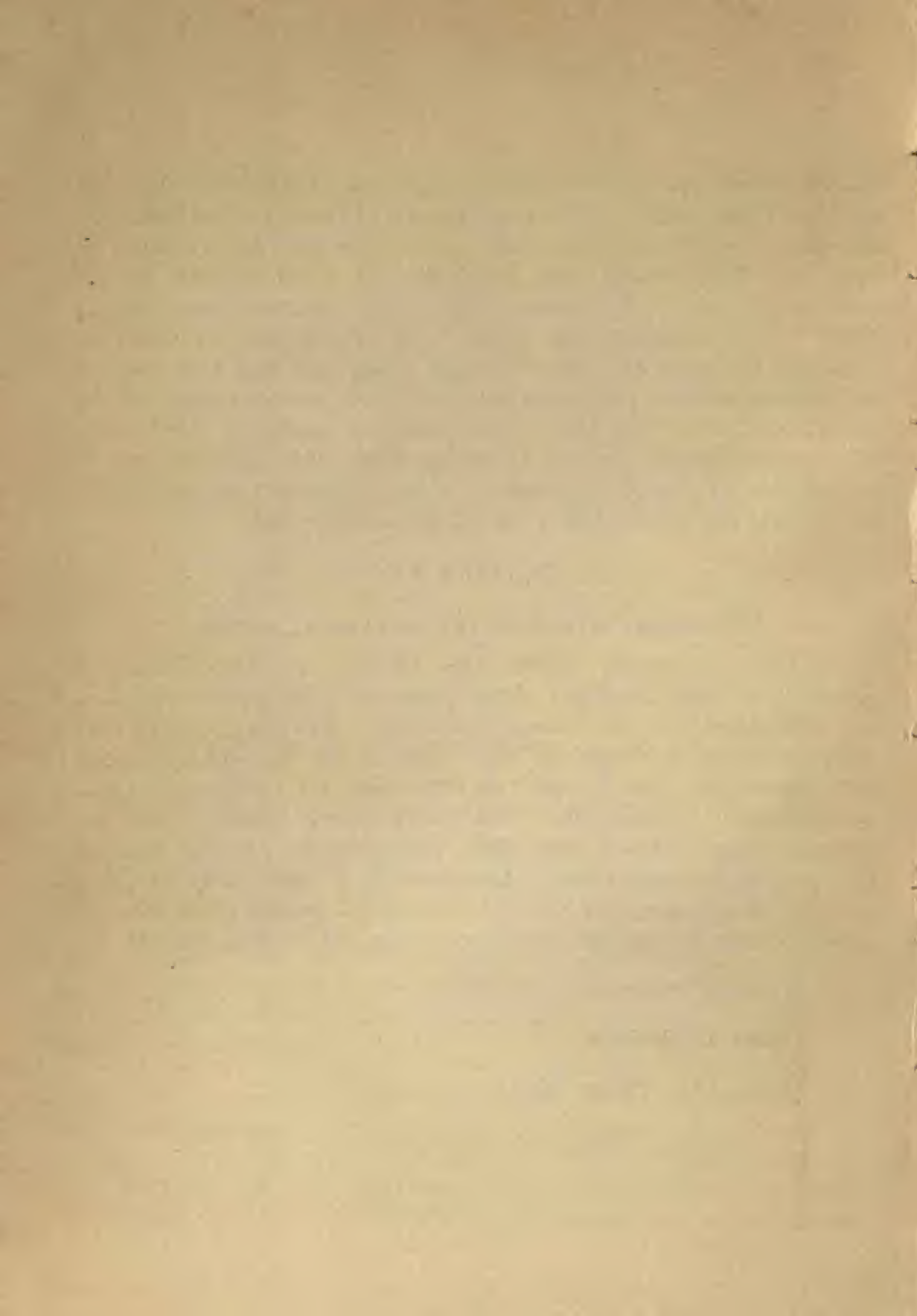
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THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FACTORS IN ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION.

IN the infancy of humanity education was quite unconscious. In trying to get food, shelter and safety man originally learnt to observe Nature, to use it to his ends and to save himself from its destructive forces. Thus in addition to the inborn instincts, which he had in common with other animals, he brought into play his own special powers physical and mental. Experience was the next means of training. The younger generation learnt from the elders what was wholesome and what was harmful, how to enjoy pleasures and to keep away from pain. The arts of cutting, hunting, building and defending contributed to the development of human intellect, the observation of the striking phenomena in Nature laid the foundation of man's ideas of worship and religion and both increased his knowledge of the physical world. The inventions of fire and language were also great steps in the advancement of his worldly welfare, of a settled life and of his idea of social relations. Man learnt to rise above his brutal instincts first in the family under the power of the patriarch, later in the village under the rule of the headman and again in the society under the bonds of customs and laws. This was the beginning of conscious education.

§ 1—THE ETHNIC FACTOR.

But this conscious education is not a physical science. Its aim and organisation have always been determined by man according to his ideals and convenience. Hence in order to understand properly the nature of Education in Ancient India *we shall have to consider on the one hand the original nature of the people who lived there and on the other, the character of the environment in which their inherited capacities were called into active development.* But the people who lived in Ancient

India did not belong to one race but to many. At different times, waves of different people reached India and left their mark on society to a more or less lasting degree. Anthropological enquiries have revealed that four main types of races had come and lived in Ancient India, viz., Dravidian, Aryan, Scythian and Mongolian. The four main types are not to be traced as distinct from one another but there has been a fusion of them all on a large scale. But it is the Aryans who have carried the lion's share in controlling the destiny of the country.

Anthropologists scarcely need be reminded that humanity is not a democracy but a hierarchy, ascending in successive gradation from the lowest Negroid to the highest Caucasian type, from the man of muscle to the man of mind, from the creature of appetite to the being of thought; and the grandest problem yet awaiting solution is the due relegation of each great family to its proper place in the ethnic scale. Of the relative place of the Negro, the Turanian and the Caucasian, there can be no doubt; the order of these primary divisions may be regarded as settled. But when we come to their minute sub-divisions, specially those of the last, opinions differ, a satisfactory indication that our data are insufficient or that our principles are unsettled. We all admit that the Foulah and the Kaffir are superior to the Negro of the coast of Guinea; nor do we deny that the Turcoman and the Finn stand higher in the ethnic scale than the Samoyede and the Lapp. And perhaps, one reason why we see all this so clearly is, that we are outside these races, so that we have no feelings of jealousy to disturb our perception and warp our judgment. But it is otherwise with our own more exalted type. Here the rival claims of Semite and Aryan, of Greek, Roman, Teuton and Celt afford a never-ending subject of controversy in which it is to be feared passion and prejudice have but too often supplied the place of fact and argument.

The speculation, however, which regards humanity as the collective or grand man is not, perhaps, altogether fanciful or ungrounded. It, at all events, has the recommendation of comprehensiveness and enables us the more readily to arrange subordinate topics as parts of a large whole. Thus contemplated, then, we may say that the Negroid races represent the

vascular, the Turanian the muscular, the Caucasian the nervous portion of the mundane structure. Were we inclined to enlarge our comparison by taking in a wider and, therefore, more diversified range of vitality, we would say that the Negro represents the vegetative, the Turanian the animal and the Caucasian the more purely human attributes of this collective organism. We shall not, perhaps, greatly err, if we speak of these great types as successive stages of advancement from alimentation and reproduction to respiration and cerebration.

The Indo-Aryans, therefore, who belonged to this Caucasian type were remarkable for their manly virtues and strength of intellect. Hence it is no wonder that "whatever sphere of the human mind you may select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion, or mythology, or philosophy, whether it be laws or customs, primitive art or primitive science, everywhere you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India only".¹

Let none however imagine that the non-Aryans have contributed nothing of value to Indian life. Contact with them made Hindu civilisation varied in aspect and deeper in spirit. The Dravidian was no theologian but expert in imagination, music and construction. He excelled in the fine arts. The pure spiritual knowledge of the Aryans mingling with the Dravidian's emotional nature and power of æsthetic creation formed a marvellous compound which was neither Aryan nor non-Aryan but Hindu. Thus the spiritual and moral ideals of Ancient Indian Education were essentially the product of the Aryan mind, while its vocational and æsthetic aspects were mainly inspired by the material and emotional nature of the Dravidians.

§ 2. THE GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR.

After the Indo-Aryans had entered India their martial spirit was for a long time kept alive by the necessity of holding their own against the enemy. When this had been effected and the resistance of the non-Aryans was broken, there was left very little scope for the

¹ India : What can it teach us ?—Max Muller, p. 15.

development of the manly virtues. Henceforward they began to develop in their character a deep delight in the contemplation of the secrets of Nature and an enthusiastic devotion for subtle speculation. For, no country in the world displays such luxuriant productiveness, combining in the north, the natural phenomena of all the Zones from the eternal ice and scanty vegetation of the glacier world to the exuberant undergrowth and majestic palms of the tropics. Under the glaring tropical Sun, the moist soil becomes fertile beyond imagination, producing for man, in lavish abundance, all that he needs for life. But it also subdues the mind with the overwhelming force of its fecundity. It could not have been otherwise than that the exuberance of tropical Nature should have captivated the mind of man, stirring up his imagination, filling it with brilliant pictures and fostering in him a love of contemplation and luxurious ease. Indeed, the rich soil and the genial climate bringing the means of subsistence within easy reach made the struggle for existence an easy one and left men sufficiently at leisure to develop the various arts of civilisation. Thus while in Europe long cold winter, barren soil and conflict of interests between small countries have developed in the Aryans there '*the instinct of self-preservation*' to the highest pitch and have made them comparatively more '*active*', '*combative*' and '*enterprising*', the peculiar geographical conditions of India have tended to make her people more '*passive*', '*meditative*' and '*philosophical*'. The absence of any keen struggle for existence has enabled the people to maintain at the head of their society a thinking class that made light of worldly concerns and devoted themselves almost wholly to philosophical contemplation. Hence owing to differences in the geographical conditions of the two countries the people in them though they originally belonged to the same stock and possessed similar virtues, now present such marked distinctions in the development of their character. The different geographical conditions of the two countries have not only affected their nature but have also influenced their institutions, their sciences, arts and literature. Thus while in Europe the various institutions, arts and sciences have been developed more or less to meet the material needs of the people and to enable them to hold their own in their political and economic relations, in India they had had their origin in the '*exigencies of religion*'. Moreover, the lofty mountains

and seas that shut the country off from the world outside not only rendered the Indian civilisation at once original and unique in character but also allowed time to the Hindu institutions, educational or otherwise, to become deep-rooted and in a great measure able to withstand the modifying influence of later invaders.

§ 3. THE SOCIAL FACTOR.

Coming to the social environment we find that the most characteristic feature of the Hindu society is its caste system. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the Rigvedic age the caste system was not well developed, if indeed, it existed at all. Each man was a priest, a warrior and a husbandman. But even then some families obtained pre-eminence by their special knowledge of the ways of performing religious sacrifices and their gift of composing hymns; others again excelled in military prowess. In course of time to keep pace with the growing needs and complexity of society differentiation became a necessity. Hence the Indo-Aryans like Plato, made an intelligent application of the principle of division of labour and became gradually divided into four castes according to their occupation and innate qualities. The ancient Hindus looked upon society as an organic whole and each member in the beginning picked up that branch of human activity which was suited to his innate qualities; and afterwards his descendants followed the same, because on the strength of heredity they were best fitted for it. Experimental Psychology tells us that a long and continuous line of impressions goes to produce a high degree of efficiency in any branch of science or in any field of industry. Hence though the study of the Vedas was enjoined on all Aryans, yet as appears from the following śloka the respective occupation of each and the corresponding training were held to have been far more important :—

“Śreyān swadharma biguṇaḥ paradharmāt swanuṣṭitāt

Swabbābaniyataṁ karma kurban nāpnoti kilbiṣam.”

“One's own duty though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Performing the duty *prescribed by nature* one does not incur sin.” (Gītā, XVIII. 47) Herbert Spencer speaks in the same strain. “It is” says he, “a trite remark that, having the choicest tools, an unskilled artisan

will botch his work ; and bad teachers will fail even with the best methods. Indeed, the goodness of the method becomes in such a case a cause of failure ; as, to continue the simile, the perfection of the tool becomes in undisciplined hands a source of imperfection in results."² Hence we have in the *Gītā*³ the warning :

"Śreyān swadharma biguṇaḥ paradharmāt swanuṣṭitāt
Swadharma nidhanaṁ śreyah paradharma bhayābahaḥ."

"One's own duty, though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Death in (performing) one's own duty is preferable ; the (performing of the) duty of others is dangerous."

Again, though our philosophers warned us against changing our duties for those of a better class, yet the Platonic ideal did not remain unrealised and no inseparable barrier was set up between the orders. "If one brahmin by birth behaves like a śūdra, he can be designated as a śūdra and if one, śūdra by birth, lives the regulated life of a brahmin, he can be designated as a brahmin."⁴ Indeed, as the following śloka will show, if a child of the inferior class possessed qualities characteristic of a superior class, he was admitted to that class :—

"Śṛiṇu yakṣa kulaṁ tāta na swādhyāyo na cha śrutam
Kāraṇaṁ hi dwijātwe cha brīttameba na saṁśayaḥ".

"O honoured Yakṣa, hear (me), doubtless the actions alone and not lineage, perusal of sacred books and Vedic learning are the determinants of brahminhood."⁵

"Śūdre cha yadbhabellakṣhma dwije taccha na bidyate
Na bai śūdro bhabechchhūdro brāhmaṇo na cha brāhmaṇaḥ
Yattraitalakṣhte Sarpa brīttyaṁ sa brāhmaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ.
Yattraī tanna bhabet Sarpa taṁ śūdramīti nirdīśhet."

"What is noticed in a śūdra does not exist in a brahmin. A śūdra is not necessarily a śūdra nor a brahmin, a brahmin. Sharpa, only he is

² Education—Spencer, p. 83.

³ III. 35.

⁴ Mahābhārata, Banaparba, 189th Adhyāya.

⁵ Mahābhārata, Banaparba, 311th Adhyāya.

called a brahmin, in whom such (characteristics of a brahmin) actions are found and O Sharpa, where these are lacking one should designate him a śūdra."⁶

"Yasya yallikhitam proktam puṃso varṇābhibyāñjakam
Yadanyatrāpi dṛśhyet tat tenaiva binirddiśhet."

"If in an individual there appears worth other than that characteristic of his class he should be designated accordingly."⁷

Thus in agreement with the tendency of the modern world, there was in ancient India sufficient scope for the development of one's own individuality. In fact, *by the system of caste alone was self-realisation made compatible with social service.* Thus, it may well be said that even in those early times the Indo-Aryans saw that, for social efficiency, the individual should be allowed to develop along the lines of his greatest power. From this there follows the pedagogical principle that it is the function of education to determine the line of the greatest power of each individual and then to prepare him for service in that direction. This is the formulation of the ancient Indian ideal of a liberal education.

In fact, in ancient times the greatest care was taken to discover the aptitude and fitness (adhikāra) of an individual to receive any particular kind of education. The śūdras were, in general, denied the study of the Vedas only because they had neither the tradition nor the aptitude for acquiring the language and spirit of the Vedic literature. Indeed it is bad policy to spend time and energy in making an 'indifferent' priest out of a citizen who could have become an 'excellent' soldier or an 'expert' craftsman. The teachers then thoroughly realised that disastrous results were sure to ensue if knowledge were to be imparted without any consideration of what suited one's tastes and ways of doing things. Thus we have—

"Vidyayā sārddham mṛiyeta na vidyā muṣare bapet."

"Better die with learning rather than plant it in a barren soil."⁸

⁶ Mahābhārata, Banaparba, 179th Adhyāya.

⁷ Śrīmadbhāgavat, Canto VII. Ch. XI.

⁸ Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa.

“Vedante paramaṃ guhyaṃ purākalpe prachoditam
Nāprasāntāya dātavyaṃ nāputrāyāśiṣyāya bā punaḥ.”

“The highest mystery in the Vedānta, delivered in a former age, should not be given to one whose passions have not been subdued, not even to the son or disciple, if he is unworthy.”⁹

Also—

“Let no man preach this most secret doctrine to any one who is not his son or his pupil or who is not of a serene mind. To him alone who is devoted to his teacher and endowed with all necessary qualities, may he communicate it.”¹⁰

“Vidyā brāhmaṇametyāha śebadhistesmi rakṣa mām
Asuyakāya mām mādāstathā syām biryabartamā.”

“(The Goddess of) learning came to a brahmin and said: “Preserve me, I am thy highest treasure. Do not impart me to a malicious person, thereby my potency will be kept unimpugned.”¹¹

“Yameba tu śuchim vidya, niyatam brahmachāriṇam
Tasmai mām bruhi biprāya nidhipāyāpramāḍine.”

“To him whom thou shalt know to be pure, perfectly continent and free from the follies of the world, to that brahmin shalt thou impart me.”¹²

“Vidyayaiba samam kāmam martabyam brahmabādinā
Āpadyāpi hi ghorāyām natwenāmiriṇe bapet.”

“Even in the absence of a means of livelihood, rather let a Vedic preceptor die with his knowledge than impart it to an unworthy recipient”¹³

We similarly find the striking feature constantly recurring in the Upaniṣhads that a teacher refuses to impart any instruction to a pupil until he proves to his satisfaction his competence, mental and moral, to receive the instruction, especially when that instruction is connected

⁹ Svetāśvatara Upaniṣhad, VI. 22.

¹⁰ Maitrāyaṇīya Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣhad, VI. 29.

¹¹ Manu II. 114.

¹² Manu II. 115.

¹³ Manu II. 113.

with the highest truths of life. The typical instance of this kind of pupil is Nachiketas in the Kathopanishad approaching Yama for instruction on the nature of the soul and its destiny when Yama first satisfies himself as to his sincerity and zeal in the pursuit of truth by offering him the strongest temptation that might divert him from his end,—“sons and grandsons who shall live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants, gold and horses, sovereignty of the wide abode of the earth, fair maidens with their chariots and musical instruments and control over death.” Nachiketas answers like a true sannyāsin “Keep thou thy horses, keep dance and song for thyself. No man can be made happy by wealth.” Then Yama ultimately is compelled to admit: “I believe Nachiketas to be one who desires knowledge, for even many pleasures did not tear him away.” Indra deals similarly with Pratardana by asking him to choose a boon but Pratardana is wise enough to leave the choice to Indra.¹⁴ King Janaśruti Pauṭrāyaṇa similarly approaches Raikva for instruction with 600 cows, a necklace and a carriage with mules, whereupon Raikva answers: “Fie, necklace and carriage be thine, O Śūdra, together with the cows.”¹⁵ Satyakāma Jābāla did not impart instruction to Upakośala Kāmalayana even after his tending his fires for twelve years.¹⁶ Pravāhaṇa approached by Āruṇi for instruction, says to him: “Stay with me for some.”¹⁷ Similar is the treatment meted out by Prajāpati to Indra and Vairocana¹⁸ and by Yājñabalkya to Janaka¹⁹ and by Śākāyanya to king Bṛhadratha.²⁰ All these cases but emphasise the pupil's own efforts along with those of his teacher as factors in education. The Upanishads²¹ require that the pupil before he is taught the highest knowledge should show that he is calm and unperturbed in

¹⁴ Kauś. III. 1.

¹⁵ Chāndogya IV. 2.

¹⁶ Chāndogya IV. 10. 2.

¹⁷ Chāndogya V. 3. 7 ; Bṛhad. VI. 2. 6.

¹⁸ Chāndogya VIII. 8. 4.

¹⁹ Bṛhad. IV. 3. 1.

²⁰ Maitryā. I. 2.

²¹ Bṛhad. IV. 4. 23 enumerates all the five attributes.

mind (śānta)²² self-restrained (dānta), self-denying (uparata),²³ patient (titikṣhu) and collected (samādita).²⁴ To these are sometimes added purity of food and as a consequence purity of nature (sattva-śuddhi);²⁵ the fulfilment of the vow of the head (śirobratam)²⁶ which indicates either the rite of carrying fire on the head or as Deussen suggests²⁷ the shaving of the head bare (as implied by the term muṇḍaka).²⁸

§ 4. THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR.

But the most potent influence on Ancient Indian Education was that of the religious environment. The Indo-Aryans when they first settled in the Indus valley were deeply impressed with the most imposing manifestations of Nature. They picked up what was beautiful and striking in Nature. looked upon that as the governing force in their regions and tried to propitiate it by prayers for their own welfare. The sky, the atmosphere and the earth exhibited such attractive phenomena at different times that they sang out praises to them: from the first, the Sun received the greatest attention followed by the Dawn;²⁹ from the second, Indra, Parjanya, Vāyu and Rudra were offered frequent worship;³⁰ and from the third, Agni, Soma, Varuṇa and Puṣhan carried the highest respect.³¹ They sometimes rose above this Nature-worship, caught a glimpse of the Head of all these deities and praised Him in stirring and sublime verses.³² Agni

²² Kaṭha. II. 24; Muṇḍaka. I. 2. 13; Śvet. VI. 22; Maitrā. VI. 29 and X. 22; Kaivalya. III. 4.

²³ Kaṭha. II. 24.

²⁴ Kaṭha. II. 24.

²⁵ Chāndogya. VII. 26. 2; Muṇḍaka. III. 2. 6; c. f. also Mahānārāyaṇa.

²⁶ Muṇḍaka. III. 2. 10—11.

²⁷ Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, p. 73.

²⁸ For other passages proving the doctrine of Adhikārabād see Aitareya Āraṇyaka III. 2. 6. 9 and V. 3. 3. 4; Chāndogya. III. 2. 5; Bṛhad. VI. 3. 12; Mahābhārata, Śānti-parva, 309th Adhyāya; Vaiṣiṣṭha Chs. II and XIII; Viṣṇu XXIX. 7 and XXIX. 9 and XXIX. 10; Yājñavalkya I. 28; Hārīṭ I. 20; I. 21; Uśanā III. 35-37; Atṛī I. 8; Gautama XII; Manu II. 16; II. 109; XI. 181; Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra Bk. VII. Ch. II. śl. 55.

²⁹ Rgveda I. 115; III. 61; VII. 75.

³⁰ Rgveda II. 12; IV. 46; V. 83. etc.

³¹ Rgveda I. 1; V. 26; VI. 53; VII. 86 etc.

³² Rgveda X. 90, 121 etc.



making his appearance in the form of the Sun in the heavens, of the lightning in the atmosphere and of fire on the earth was soon considered to be the mouth or representative of all the gods. While sharpening a stone into some weapon men originally saw sparks and then found out how to produce fire, or a conflagration due to friction (caused by roaring winds) of branches of Aruṇi was observed clearing forests, burning down various animals, melting ores, and he got the idea of keeping fire, of using it for cooking and of offering oblations to it. In this way probably they marked the usefulness of the various phenomena in Nature and out of cheerful simplicity made them objects of their worship. Fire was to be kept up by every householder, oblations offered to it and hymns sung in its praise. In the morning and evening, prayers were also said by the river-side to the Sun as it rose and set. Thus even in the R̥gveda sacrifice appears to be the centre of all religious activities, though its elaborate development and varied classification was the work of the second stage of the development of Indo-Aryan religion. There are hundreds of allusions to the materials and performances of sacrifices and the designations of priests at them in all the maṇḍalas of the R̥gveda, which it is not necessary here to quote.³³

Each of the Vedic poets was probably the family priest at the court of some chieftain or nobleman who wanted to propitiate the gods for prosperity and success by sacrifice with his help. Each poet handed down his own hymns to his descendants some of whom probably made additions to the original composition. Each maṇḍala of the R̥gveda was thus a family collection, handed down from generation to generation and no doubt guarded jealously as a family inheritance. Later on, a sort of competition probably arose among such priestly families to possess the best hymns and led to the formation of a dignified and expressive literary dialect.

As the influence of the priests increased the ritual of the sacrifice became more complex. The technical lore of language and of hymns was taught by the poet-priest to his sons or nephews and this was no doubt the beginning of Ancient Hindu Education. In course of time probably due to

³³ Mahārāṣṭriya Dnyānaśāstra, Part II. pp. 359-371.

the action of some powerful chieftain who wished to gather for his own benefit all the sacrificial literature, these family collections of hymns came to be amalgamated and taught together.

There were three functions which the priest might perform in the ritual and to those who performed them different names were given. The 'hotri' was the leading priest who while the sacrifice was being made recited hymns of praise in honour of the particular god he was worshipping (Indra, Agni, etc). And then part of the ritual was done by 'udgātri' whose duty was to sing the sāmans or hymns in praise of the Soma plant hypostatized and regarded as a god. Another priest was concerned with the manual acts of sacrificing and he was called an 'adhvaryu'. There was, at first, however, no distinct order and each priest might perform any of these functions. There was but one education for all, and each priestly student received a triple training so that he might perform any one of these three duties. Gradually, however, the ritual of the sacrifices became elaborated, and with its growing complexity some division of priestly labour became unavoidable. No one priest could become an expert in the three branches of the ritual and specialist training became necessary. Probably at first it consisted in a priestly student first learning the ritual of all the three branches and then specialising in one of them. The collection of Soma hymns into the ninth book of the R̥gveda seems to show traces of this. But eventually something more than this was needed and there came to be three orders of priests, each possessing its own particular Veda and having its own training schools.

All the hymns to be chanted at the Soma sacrifice were gathered into a separate collection called the Sāmaveda. All its verses except seventy-five were taken from the R̥gveda and formed a special musical collection for the Soma ritual. It consists of two parts called ārchikas. The first ārchika consists of stanzas, each of which was associated with a separate tune, of which there were no less than 585. The second part, or uttarārchika, contains the strophes which were required for use in the ritual. The udgātri had to learn to sing all the tunes required for the Soma ritual and to know which particular strophe was required for each sacrifice. The complicated work of the udgātri priest thus led to the creation of a special

school for those who wanted to specialise in this branch of study. At a later date tune books called *gānas* were prepared.

Although the recitation of the appropriate hymns of praise at the ordinary sacrifices was the special duty of the 'hotṛi' priest, the 'adhvaryu' who performed the manual acts of the sacrifice, was required to utter certain ritual formulas (*yajūmshi*), and at different points of the ritual had also to utter certain prayers and praises. For the training of the 'adhvaryu' priests also, special schools arose, and their particular Veda was the *Yajurveda*.³⁵ This collection consists of prose formulas or mantras, among which many verses, mostly taken from the *Rgveda*, are also interpolated. When these special schools were formed for the *udgātṛi* and *adhvaryu* priests, the older schools connected with the *Rgveda* came to be regarded as special schools for the *hotṛi* priests.

By the time these various types of priestly schools had been formed, the centre of the Aryan civilisation had shifted eastwards and lay somewhere between the Sutlej and the Jumna rivers. There came to be slight differences in the Vedic texts and each recension was called a *śākhā*. Those who followed a particular *śākhā* of a Veda were said to form a *charaṇa* or school of that Veda. At sometime, however, precautions were taken for the preservation of the sacred text, and this led to the constitution of the *padapāṭha*³⁶ and other forms of the sacred texts.

The different kinds of priestly schools had now become well developed, and were learned associations with a growing reputation and a priest was proud of the school in which he had received his training and he could not perform his duties as a priest without having passed through one of these schools. The first duty of the student was to learn by heart the particular Veda of his school. This he did by repeating after his teacher till perfect accuracy was obtained. He would also receive a great deal of instruction on his duties as a priest and also explanations of the hymns and ritual acts. The instruction was called 'viddhi' and the

³⁴ Macdonell's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 171 ff.

³⁵ Ibid. pp. 174 ff.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 51.

explanation 'arthavāda.' For a long time these discourses were given orally by the teacher in his own language but in course of time in each school the didactic material contained in the text tended to follow precedent more and more and finally became stereotyped in the Brāhmaṇas.³⁷ These treatises written in prose were supposed to elucidate the texts and contained the speculation of generations of priests. A single discourse of this kind was called a Brāhmaṇa and later on all collections or digests of such discourses were called by the same name. Besides instruction and explanation relating to the sacrificial ritual, they contain mythological stories and legends, speculation and argument and we can find in them the first beginnings of grammar, astronomy, etymology, philosophy and law. Their intellectual activity was centred, however, on the sacrifice.

But though the Hindu education started out with the idea of the teacher passing on to the pupil the traditions he had himself received, yet even from the earliest times, the contents of the education must have begun to widen out. The sacrificial ritual itself gave birth to some of the sciences. The elaborate rules for the construction of altars led to the sciences of geometry and algebra being developed, and as it was sometimes desired to erect a round altar covering the same area as a square one, problems like squaring the circle had to be faced.³⁸ The desire to find out propitious times and seasons for sacrifices and other purposes gave rise to astrology, from which astronomy developed. The dissection of sacrificial victims was the beginning of anatomy. The care taken to preserve the sacred text from corruption led to the development of grammar and philology, while the deep questions with regard to the universe and man's place in it, which were already being referred to in the saṃhitās of the Vedas and discussed more fully in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣhads led to the formation of elaborate philosophical systems and the study of logic.

According to tradition,³⁹ there are six subjects "the study of which was necessary either for the reading, the understanding or the proper

³⁷ Macdonell's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 202.

³⁸ R. C. Dutt's *Civilisation in Ancient India*, pp. 93 ff.

³⁹ Kautilya in his *Arthasāstra* confirms this tradition, (R. Shāmsāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 7.)

sacrificial employment of the Veda." These are called the Vedāṅgas and comprise the following subjects :—Śikṣhā (or phonetics), Chhandas (or metre), Vyākaraṇa (or grammar), Nirukta (etymology or explanation of words), Jyotiṣha (or astronomy) and Kalpa (or ceremonial or religious practice). "The first two are considered necessary for reading the Veda, the two next for understanding it, and the last two for employing it at sacrifices." ⁴⁰ From these, however, other subjects developed, as for example, the study of law from Kalpa. Thus the education of the ancient Hindus had its origin and development in sacrifice which occupied so prominent a place in the first and more specially in the second stage of the evolution of Vedic religion.

But in the next stage some impatience appears to have been felt with the elaborate rites and sacrifices which the thinking section of the people regarded as useless. Hence the mind of the great ṛṣis passed beyond the natural phenomena to the consideration of their cause and purpose :

"Kiṃ kāraṇaṃ brahma kutaḥ sma jātā jibāma kena kwa cha
sampratisthāḥ

Adhiṣṭhitāḥ kena sukhetaṛeṣu bartāmahe brahmabido byābasthām".

"Is Brahman the cause ? Whence are we born ? Whereby do we live and whither do we go ? O, ye who know Brahman, (tell us) at whose command we abide, whether in pain or in pleasure." ⁴¹

The thought that was thus set up culminated in the doctrine :

"Sarvaṃ khalbidam brahma tajjalāniti śānta upasita."

"All the universe indeed is Brahman ; from Him does it proceed ; into Him is it dissolved ; in Him it breathes. So let every one adore Him calmly". ⁴²

Hence like the modern educators the ancient Hindus saw that complete self-realisation was possible only through finding one's own relations to the world around one and thus realising that all things have their beginning,

⁴⁰ Quoted in R. C. Mazumdar's Outline of Ancient Indian History and Civilisation, pp. 30-31.

⁴¹ Śvetasvatara Upaniṣhad I. 1.

⁴² Chāndogya Upaniṣhad.

life and end in God. ⁴³ So according to them the final emancipation was possible only through "communion with one's fellowmen and with the beauty and truth of the universe." In fact, the ideal of the Hindu educational theorist was to know oneself in relation to society and the universe and to find out the identity between the individual and the eternal self, for, this is "the only way in which we can conceive the satisfaction of human aspirations, the completion of human knowledge and the sanctification of human life."

The Hindus from a very early time have held that each man is born a debtor, that he has obligations first to the sages who were the founders of his religion and culture ; secondly to the gods ; thirdly to his parents. ⁴⁴ The first debt he repays as a student by the careful study of the Vedas ; the second he repays as a householder by the performance of a number of sacrifices ; the third debt he repays by offerings to the manes and by becoming himself the father of children. ⁴⁵ When a man has thus paid all the three debts he is considered free and becomes fit for applying himself to the attainment of final liberation. The early Hindus, therefore, considered education as a life-process and divided the life of an individual into four stages to each of which different duties were assigned ⁴⁶ in such a way that their due performance in any stage might prepare the individual for the next higher stage. In the first stage, the mind was opened and disciplined and the body made fit to carry out the orders of the mind. In the second, the individual put the principles he had learnt into practice and realised their true nature and that of the things of the world and its round of duties ; and thus becoming pure in mind and body, in the third, he turned his attention inward to recognise the true and intimate relation between the individual and the eternal self in which

⁴³ Compare—"Nityonityānām chetanaschetanāmeko bahunām yo bidadhāti kāmān

Tamātmaṣṭhaṁ yenupaśyanti dhīrāsteṣām śāntiḥ śāstwatī'netāreṣām".

"Who is eternal in the non-eternal, who is life of the living, who though One, fulfills the desires of Many. The wise who perceive Him within their self, to them belongs eternal peace, to none else."—Kaṭhapaniṣhad V. 13.

⁴⁴ Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 229th Adhyāya.

⁴⁵ Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparva, 37th Adhyāya.

⁴⁶ Jābala Upaniṣhad, 4. says "Brahmachāri bhūtvā gṛhī bhabet, gṛhī bhutvā baṇī bhabet, baṇī bhutvā prabrajat." See also Manu VI. 34-35.

was found the explanation of the origin and the meaning of existence. Hence with the ancient Hindus as with Frœbel "the purpose of education was to expand the life of the individual until it should comprehend this existence through participation in the all-pervading spiritual activity."

Hence we have in the Gītā⁴⁷ : "Let no wise man unsettle the mind of ignorant people attached to action." Thus the Gītā forbids the wise to thrust on the individual the divine wisdom before he becomes fit for receiving it. It urges that the individual should perform action so that he may learn by *doing*, the true nature of his own self. This goes to show that the Hindu system was not in favour of dogmatic instruction and aimed at the development of the personality of the individual.⁴⁸ "Indeed in the last stage of his life the individual becomes free from all fetters of law, of custom and of tradition and enjoys a life of perfect spiritual freedom and eternal bliss."⁴⁹ It is thus clear that the Hindu philosophers instead of giving an 'expression to the hostility to individuality' as has been suggested by some writers⁵⁰ aim at the greater development of individuality. In fact, instead of suppressing their individuality, "they attain their real individuality, infinitely beyond these little selves which we now think of so much importance. No individuality will be lost; an infinite and eternal individuality will be realised. Pleasure in little things will cease. We are finding pleasure in this little body, in this little individuality, but how much greater the pleasure will be when the whole universe appears as our own body? If there be pleasure in these separate bodies how much more pleasure when all bodies are one? The man who has realised this, has attained to freedom, has gone beyond the dream and known himself in his real nature."⁵¹ So not only does the identification of the individual self with the eternal self 'not imply the loss of individuality but it is the only means by which individuality can be conserved and developed.'

⁴⁷ III. 26.

⁴⁸ Also compare Gītā III. 29; Praśna Upaniṣad, 1st Praśna, 2; Taittirīya Upaniṣad—Vīṇa Valli; Chāndogya Upaniṣad—Satyakāma Jābāla.

⁴⁹ Lectures on the Origin of Religion—Max Muller, p. 365.

⁵⁰ A Brief Course in the History of Education—Monroe, p. 21.

⁵¹ The Science and Philosophy of Religion—Swāmi Vivekānanda, pp. 188-89,

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT HINDU EDUCATION : ITS AIMS AND OBJECTS.

Three or four words are to be met with in Ancient Indo-Aryan literature which roughly correspond to the modern word "education." Firstly the word "śikṣh" is to be found in the Vedic hymns which means "to learn to recite." In the Brāhmaṇic, Upaniṣadic and Sūtra literature the word "adhyayana" is to be met with which literally means "to go near," and expresses the idea of pupils going to some teacher for education. Thus the initiation ceremony "upanayana" was instituted which literally means "taking near." Young children were taken near a teacher for their education. In early Vedic times instruction was confined to particular families where the father generally taught his sons and there was no such initiation ceremony; but later on it came to be regarded as the preliminary to school-life. Thirdly, the word "vinaya" is to be met with in classical literature which comes from a root meaning "to lead out in a particular way." Thus it literally means "an action in which (inborn faculties) are led out (*i. e.*, trained) in a particular way" or "an action in which (one) leads (oneself) in a particular manner." The first meaning is identical with that of "education" and the second expresses the idea of the formation of character. Kālidāsa carries the credit of having used it very often in that sense. Here is a reference to the 'development theory' of education: the inborn powers of man are to be drawn out and developed. "Probodha" is used by the same poet to express the results of education. It means "awakening" or "enlightenment." Indeed an idea of the all-sided development of man was conceived by the Indo-Aryans and this will be further evident from the following passages :—

"Learning brings on Vinaya (development of inborn power or modesty) which in its turn enhances the worth of man."⁵²

"Whoever learns by heart, writes, observes, asks questions (to get difficulties solved) and waits upon the learned, has his intellect developed like a lotus by the Sun's rays."⁵³

"Just as well-secured learning brings on enlightenment and leads to the formation of character."⁵⁴

But an all-sided development of man cannot be complete unless he is prepared by the education he receives, not only for this life but also for a future existence. The harmonising of these two purposes in due proportion has always been a difficult task for educators. Thus in the Middle Ages in Europe stress was laid upon preparation for the world to come, while modern European systems often tend unduly to ignore this side of education. But the ancient Hindus attempted a happy synthesis of both these purposes. Thus a young Brahmin was prepared by the education he received for his practical duties in life as a priest and teacher but the need of preparing him for the life after death was also included in the education he received. The same may be said of the young Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas who were required not only to fit themselves for their respective vocation in life but also to study the Vedas and give heed to the teachings of religion.

Hence the object of Ancient Hindu education was made three-fold: the acquisition of knowledge, the inculcation of social duties and religious rites and above all the formation of character. ✓

The technical name for study proper i. e., Vedic study is "swādhyāya." The object in view was the three-fold knowledge (trayī), that of R̥k, Yajus and Sāman.⁵⁵ Besides the three Vedas the branches of knowledge cultivated by the Hindus included not only literature, both sacred and secular with its accessories, Grammar, Phonetics, Exegetics and Metrics but also Logic, Philosophy, Itihāsa, Vārta (Economics),⁵⁶ Daṇḍanīti (science of government), Dhanurveda (science of war), Astronomy, Law, Medicine and Mechanical and Fine Arts of all descriptions.

⁵³ Subhāṣita.

⁵⁴ Raghuvamśam.

⁵⁵ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I. 1. 4. 2. 3; II. 6. 4. 2. 7; IV. 6. 7. 1. 2.; V. 5. 5. 9; VI. 3. 1. 10. 11. 12; X. 5. 2. 1. 2.; XI. 5. 4. 18; XII. 3. 3. 2; etc., etc.

Besides these we find innumerable references to the supreme or highest knowledge, technically called *parā-vidyā*, as distinguished from all other knowledge termed *aparā*, as is done in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*.⁵⁶ The *Muṇḍaka*⁵⁷ defines *aparāvidyā* as comprising the four Vedas and the six Vedāṅgas. By the *parā-vidyā*, the *Muṇḍaka* understands that knowledge through which the ultimate Reality is known. All knowledge, *parā* or *aparā*, is opposed to ignorance, *avidyā*. *Parā-vidyā*, however, is extolled as *sarva-vidyā-pratiṣṭhā*, the foundation of all arts and sciences,⁵⁸ as *vedānta*, the final and highest stage of Vedic wisdom⁵⁹ and as verily the science of sciences wherein lies implicit the knowledge of everything.⁶⁰ A few citations would show clearly how the insufficiency of even the knowledge of the Vedes and indeed of all existing knowledge is recognised in the Upaniṣads.

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*⁶¹ Nārada acknowledges to Sanatkumāra :

"I have studied, most revered Sir, the *R̥gveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, the *Atharvaveda* as fourth, the epic and mythological poems as fifth Veda, grammar, necrology, arithmetic, divination, chronology, dialectics, politics, theology, the doctrine of prayer, necromancy, the art of war, astronomy, snake-charming and the fine arts—these things most revered Sir, have I studied : therefore am I, most revered Sir, learned indeed in the scripture (*mantrabit*), but not learned in the *Ātman* (*ātmabit*). Yet have I heard from such as are like you that he who knows the *Ātman* vanquishes sorrow. I am in sorrow. Lead me then over, I pray, to the farther shore that lies beyond sorrow."

Sanatkumāra said to him : " Whatever you have studied is but words."

Similarly in the *Chāndogya*,⁶² *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*⁶³ and *Kauṣītaki*⁶⁴ treating of the same topic, Śvetaketu professes to have been taught by his father Āruṇi, but fails to answer the eschatological questions propounded by King Pravāhaṇa (in the *Kauṣītaki Uitra Gāṅgyayani*) and returning in anger to his father reproaches him : " So then, without having really

⁵⁶ I. 1. 4.

⁵⁷ *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, I. 1. 2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 1. 3.

⁵⁹ V. 3. 10.

⁶⁰ I. 1. 5.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, III. 2. 6.

⁶² VII. 1.

⁶³ VI. 2.

⁶⁴ I.

done so, you have claimed to have instructed me";⁶⁵ "it was imagination then when you previously declared that my instruction was complete."⁶⁶

Again in the Chāndogya⁶⁷ it was shown that Śvetaketu's "thorough" study of "all the Vedas" for full twelve years leaves him only full of conceit and confidence in his study and wisdom but ignorant of the questions put to him by his father regarding the One and Self-existent, through knowing whom every thing is known.

Accordingly we find several emphatic declarations of the principle as pointed out by these examples. "Therefore let a brāhmaṇa, after he has done with learning wish to stand by real strength (knowledge of the Self which enables us to dispense with all other knowledge)" says the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.⁶⁸ "He should not seek after the knowledge of the books, for that is mere weariness of the tongue" says the same Upaniṣad elsewhere.⁶⁹ The Taittiriya Upaniṣad⁷⁰ says "Before whom words and thoughts recoil, not finding him" while the Kaṭha Upaniṣad⁷¹ emphatically states that "Not by the Veda is the Ātman attained, nor by intellect, nor by much knowledge of books."

In this view the Kaṭha Upaniṣad⁷² even regards aparā-vidyā as avidyā and emphasises its essential inferiority and worthlessness, although the aparā-vidyā includes, according to the Muṇḍaka⁷³ the four Vedas together with the six Vedāṅgas.

From the same ideal standpoint and standard of knowledge Kalpa or ritualism comes in for its special share of condemnation.⁷⁴ The Muṇḍaka⁷⁵ openly brands as fools those that seek to perform mere rites and ceremonies. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka⁷⁶ in a spirit of depreciation thinks

⁶⁵ Chāndogya Upaniṣad, V. 3. 4.

⁶⁶ Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, VI. 2. 3.

⁶⁷ III. 5. 1.

⁶⁸ II. 4.

⁶⁹ I. 2. 4-5.

⁶⁷ VI. 1.

⁶⁹ IV. 4. 21.

⁷¹ I. 2. 23.

⁷² I. 1. 5.

⁷⁴ For the entire evidence see Dr. R. K. Mookerji's article in Sir Āśuṭoṣa Mukerji Silver Jubilee volumes, Vol. III. Part I. *Orientalia*, pp. 220f., upon which I have freely drawn.

⁷⁵ I. 2. 7.

⁷⁶ I. 4. 10.

it fit to compare those who instead of knowing and recognising the Ātman as the only Reality, merely offer sacrifices to the gods, to domestic animals, ministering to the comforts of their owners. We read there:⁷⁷ "By sacrifice the world of the fathers, by knowledge the world of the gods is gained". In the Aitareya Āraṇyaka⁷⁸ we find the following: "To what end, shall we repeat the Veda, to what end shall we sacrifice? For, we sacrifice breath in speech or in breath speech."

In the later Upaniṣads, however, we find a more friendly attitude towards the sacrificial cult. In Kaṭha⁷⁹ the performance of certain ceremonies and works leads to the "overstepping of birth and death" and to "everlasting rest." This tendency towards reconciliation and synthesis attains its climax in the Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad, of which the very first passage affirms that the laying of the sacrificial fires leads to a knowledge of Brahman, while in IV. 3, it is expressly laid down that a knowledge of the Veda, observance of caste-duties and āśrama-duties are all essential to the emancipation of the natural ātman and its re-union with the Supreme Ātman. In Yājñabalkya Saṃhitā⁸⁰ we read: "brāhmaṇas endowed with Vedic studies are superior to all (the other castes); of them those given to the performance of religious acts, are superior; of them those gifted with the knowledge of the Self (are superior). The worthiness of a person is not determined by mere learning or asceticism; but he is known as a worthy person in whom both these exist." Again⁸¹: "The study of the Vedas, sacrifice, celibacy, penance, self-control, faith, fasting and control over the senses are the instruments of the knowledge of the Self." Hārīt Saṃhitā⁸² speaks in the same strain: "So long one enjoys the pleasure of seeing the Ātman he should not act against the religious practices mentioned in the śruti and the śmṛiti (such as penances, meditation, etc.). It should be noted, however, that orthodox and traditional Brahminical opinion does not find any real antagonism between the sacrificial cult, the scheme of practical life under the orders of caste and āśrama on the one hand and the Upaniṣadic spirit of the quest of

⁷⁷ I. 5. 16.

⁷⁸ I. 17.

⁸¹ III. 180; compare III. 191.

⁷⁹ III. 2. 6.

⁸⁰ I. 199-200.

⁸² VII. 8.

the Brahman on the other. The importance of the passages expressing such attitude is only to emphasise the supreme importance and worth of parāvidyā.

It is obvious, however, that all men are not physically and mentally fit for the acquisition of parāvidyā, nor can they be fit for it, all at once. It was to meet this difficulty, that the ancient Hindus considered education as a life-process and divided the life of an individual into four stages to each of which different duties were assigned in such a way that their due performance in any stage might prepare the individual for the next higher stage. Thus the ancient Hindus did not ignore this mundane existence but on the other hand prepared the people for it by providing for education on a caste basis; so that on the completion of their education they found no difficulty in obtaining a means of livelihood.

Indeed social efficiency was one of the aims of Ancient Hindu Education. From the modern point of view a socially efficient man is he who is not a drag on his society and who far from interfering with the efforts of others, contributes to the progress and development of the society from which he has freely received nourishment for his body and soul. Hence every student was taught the rights and duties holding all together (Dharma), and even an advanced soul had no right to give up the duties pertaining to its position until it had shuffled off the mortal coil. We have the explicit mention of the value of philosophy as sustaining man in unremitting social service. 'Infinity is bliss, and only one who obtains bliss performs social duties.' [Ch. Up., VII. 22. Compare "Ātmā iva Sevaḥ" (Rgveda 1. 73. 2) and "Eṣa hyevānandayti" (Taitt. Up.).] 'None would strive to work or even to live, if only this bliss in the human heart (ānanda) ever ceased to be. Then joy would cease, and the thought of its ceasing smites humanity with horror.'⁸³ Thus the vedic ideal was the harmony of work and worship attained through perfect obedience to the divine will. Education aimed at developing the power

⁸³ Yadā hyevaiṣa etasmin udaramantaram kurute atha tasya bhayam bhābati (Taitt. Up.).

Upastarāṇamāham prajāyai paśūnām bhūyāsam

Vācāham..... śūśrūṣāṇāṃ manuṣyebhyaḥ

(T. A., IV. 1.).

and gifts of the people along these lines. It took advantage of the natural reactions of the child, and developed his individuality, only to lose it finally in the larger life of the universe.

Again, as the development of the spiritual side concerned the Hindus more than anything else, the moral purpose completely dominated the school-life of the Hindu student. He had to go through a course of discipline which helped to form his mind and to make his body fit to carry out its orders. Fröbel rightly observes: "To give firmness to the will, to quicken it and to make it pure and strong and enduring is the chief concern in education." The German educator Herbert was also a staunch supporter of the formation of character as the aim of education. That the ancient Hindu educators also laid the greatest emphasis on the formation of character will be evident from the following:—

"The result of education is good character and good behaviour."⁸⁴

"The result of studies is good character and good conduct."⁸⁵

"O Yakṣa, listen, high moral character is undoubtedly the only valuable qualification for being a brāhmaṇa, not so much race nor learning. Character should be scrupulously cultivated by all and in particular by the brāhmaṇa.....a brāhmaṇa without good character is less than a śūdra."⁸⁶

"A conquest does not make a hero, nor studies a wise man. He who has conquered his senses is the real hero. He who practises virtues is really wise."⁸⁷

"Neither austerities nor the Veda nor the Agnihotra nor gift of sacrificial presents can save one who has resorted to low conduct and deviated (from the path of duty)."⁸⁸ "The Vedas do not purify him who is void of good conduct, though he may have studied them together with the six Angas; the metres leave this man at death as full-fledged birds leave their nest."⁸⁹ "Like unto doors (unable to please) a blind

⁸⁴ Mahābhārata, Savāparva, 5th adhyāya.

⁸⁵ Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, 38th adhyāya.

⁸⁶ Mahābhārata, Banaparva, 312th adhyāya.

⁸⁷ Vyāsa Saṃhitā, IV. 59-60.

⁸⁸ Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, Ch. VI.

⁸⁹ Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā, Ch. VI.

man how can all the Vedas with the six Angas and esoteric sciences please a brāhmaṇa who is devoid of good conduct."⁹⁰

"Conduct is the highest virtue as inculcated by the śmṛti and the śruti."⁹¹ "Devoid of conduct, a brāhmaṇa does not obtain the merit of reading the Vedas. Possessed of good conduct he reaps the entire fruit (of such study)."⁹² "Having thus observed the origin of virtue from (good) conduct, the sages accepted conduct as the basis of all austerities."⁹³

Kautilya speaks in the same strain: "Restraint of the organs of the sense on which success in study and discipline depends can be enforced by abandoning lust, anger, greed, vanity (māna), haughtiness (mada) and overjoy (harṣa). Absence of discrepancy (avipratipatti) in the perception of sound, touch, colour, flavour and scent by means of the ear, the eyes, the tongue and the nose is what is meant by the restraint of the organs of the sense. Strict observance of the precepts of sciences also means the same; *for the sole aim of all the sciences is nothing but restraint of the organs of sense*. Whosoever is of reverse character, whoever has not his organs of sense under his control, will soon perish, though possessed of the whole earth, bound with the four quarters."⁹⁴

Atri⁹⁵ says: "The panegyrists, the flatterers, cheats, those who act harshly and those who are avaricious—these five brāhmaṇas should never be adored, even if they are equal to Bṛhaspati in learning." A brāhmaṇa who knows only Gāyatri but who is thoroughly self-restrained is better than he who knows the three Vedas (but) who is not self-restrained, who eats all (sorts of) food and sells everything (*i.e.*, prohibited things)."⁹⁶ "Neither the study of the Vedas nor liberality nor sacrifices nor any self-imposed restraint, nor austerities ever procure the attainment of rewards to a man whose heart is contaminated by sensuality". For, "when one among

⁹⁰ Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā Ch. VI; c. f. the four ślokas in this chapter which immediately follow those quoted above.

⁹¹ Manu I. 108.

⁹² Manu I. 109.

⁹³ Manu I. 110; c. f. Manu II. 118.

⁹⁴ Arthaśāstra, R. Śyāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans., p. 12; c. f. Kāmandakiya Nītiśāra, 1st Sarga, śloka 20.

⁹⁵ I. 379.

⁹⁶ Manu II. 118.

all the organs steps away from him, even as the water (flows) through the one (open) foot of a (water-carrier's) skin." Śukrāchārya says: "One should bring to bay or discipline by the hook of knowledge, the elephant of the senses which is running to and fro in a destructive manner in the vast forest of joyable things."⁹⁷ "Discipline is the chief thing to the guide or King. This comes through the dictates or precepts of the śāstras. This gives mastery over the senses and one who has mastered the senses, acquires the śāstras."⁹⁸ In Kādambarī we find a young ascetic admonishing Puṇḍarika for losing his self-control, thus: "Verily all knowledge is fruitless, study of holy books is useless, initiation has lost its meaning, pondering the teaching of gurus avails not, proficiency is worthless, learning leads to naught, since even men like thee are stained by the touch of passion and overcome by folly."⁹⁹

In order to achieve this high ideal of perfect mastery over the senses, a life of strict discipline was prescribed for the student. He had to shun sensual pleasures of all kinds and lead a simple austere life. He was inspired by the high ideals of the teacher with whom he lived in close and intimate contact and imbibed social and moral virtues by his precept and example. At the same time the tender side of his nature was nourished and domestic virtues developed by the sweet and affectionate relationship with the wife and children of the teacher.

⁹⁷ Ch. I. lines 193-94.

⁹⁸ Śukranītisāra, Ch. I. lines 181-82; c. f. Ch. I. lines 183-85; 191-92.

⁹⁹ Kādambarī, C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., pp. 110-111.

CHAPTER III.

HOME EDUCATION OF THE CHILD IN ANCIENT INDIA.

We have already referred to the acquisition of knowledge as one of the aims of Ancient Indian Education ; but it was the acquisition of such knowledge as would enable a man to attain a right attitude in life. In one of the Upanishads we are told that the Right and the Real are concealed under the glamour and glitter of knowledge, as the real form of the Sun is obscured from our view by the halo of light surrounding that luminary.¹⁰⁰ We are told also that the knowledge of the self, of eternal life, is not obtained by learning, by the recitation of texts or even by listening to the experiences of others, but is entirely a matter of the individual's interiorisation¹⁰¹ which finds all things in the universe in their proper place and proportion and fills the earnest seeker with sweetness and light, born of love for all and renunciation of the self. Indeed, Education in Ancient India was not merely concerned with the instruction of the young ; nor even with the formation of habit and the development of will-power. It sought to build up the whole being of the individual and to enable him to lead the best and the highest kind of life possible for him in the circumstances in which he was placed. Educative influences were so planned as to mould his life from the moment he was conceived to the moment of his death. The system included the anxious care-taking of the babe, the efficient breeding of the child, the delicate training of adolescence and the gradual developing of the sense of values in the little thought of acts of daily life. His domestic and social duties were so arranged as to develop a life of constant social service and spiritual drill, to lead finally to a surrender of the realised self in communion with the Divine. If education was conterminous, it was also co-extensive with life.

¹⁰⁰ Satyasyāpihitam mukham.....apāvṛṇu satyadharmāya dṛishtaye—Iśa Up.

¹⁰¹ Nāyamātmā prabachanena labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śrutena—Kaṭha Up.

The embryo was treated through the expectant mother and a ceremonial or a festivity ensured emphatic attention at every stage to matters of embryonic and babe welfare. Numerous Vedic hymns which are outside the regular collection impress on the parents the need for complete concord and agreement and for harmony with the laws of Nature, to ensure the real happiness of the babe to be born. It is clearly recognised that the mother, as she is the first, is also the most powerful of educators whose influence just before and during pregnancy would make or mar the child's welfare in after life. If she thinks of things holy and serene, enjoys peace and happiness and finds her atmosphere congenial, she can stimulate the child's mental faculties, induce patriotic and other virtues and instill spiritual force into its mind. When she is *enceinte* the prayer is to secure her health and that of the foetus, so that both might be alive after the parturition. The expectant mother has her surroundings solemn and silent, which lay the foundations of the spiritual training of the future child.¹⁰²

After confinement the mother is placed under pollution for a month and a half, to ensure the concentration of her attention on the infant. The hymns used at the *jātakarma* draw attention to the need for the service of humanity with an abiding faith in the Omnipotent, for building the babe's physique by attention to the breast-milk of the mother. On this latter circumstance depended not only the life of the tender one, but its natural endowment of strength and its mental and moral qualities

¹⁰² Pregnant women must not bathe in bathing places, allow hair to be loose or lie with head high or low and must not walk in the open air. They must avoid the cemetery, burial ground, large trees, etc. (*Saṁhita*, III, 10). c. f. *Potayattu* I. 5; *Divyābhāṣa*, pp. 2, 79, 167, 441 and 523.

c. f. Megasthenes: 'The Brachmanes are the best esteemed, for they are more consistent in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the guardian care of learned men who go to the mother and under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn babe, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels. The women who listen most willingly are thought to be most fortunate in their children. After the birth, the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age, each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor.'—Fragment 41.

(āyur varcho yaśo balam). At the niṣkramaṇa the child was taken into the open, to admire the gay flowers and the green leaves on the background of the Sun-lit sky. It breathed the pollen driven by the wanton wind, witnessed the bright plumage of the dancing peacock and was treated to the music of the gurgling brook and the sweet song of the birds. A spirit of cheery optimism and a sense of the joyousness of life are sought to be instilled into the child almost from birth as at the name-giving ceremony (nāma-karaṇa)—which was certainly in vogue at least as early as the Yajurveda—by the friends and relatives assembled for the purpose. After the celebration of the first birthday it was given its food in the placid moon-light and taught to trace the course of the Moon and the stars as they appear on the heavens unwearied night after night. In fact, its individuality was respected and emotions aroused at every ceremonial.

‘The parents of little Goyama performed in due order the rites of the birthday, the sight of the Sun and the Moon, the vigil, the name-giving, the walking and moving of legs, the feasting, the increase of food, the teaching to speak, the boring of ears, the cleansing of the ear, the dressing of the hair, the taking to school etc.,¹⁰³ This attention to the child in the first four or five years must be of high educative value. Jung and Freud have proved by psycho-analysis that the habits formed in these years have great influence in determining not only the physical status of the child but the future emotional and volitional life of the adult.

The ceremony of tonsure (chaula) is at the age of three or five, when the consciousness of self appears and asserts itself. Advantage is now taken of his growing egoism for establishing regularity in daily life. He is to rise early, and wash specially his teeth and eyes, to have regular meal times and retire to bed an hour or two after sun-set. His home-education would begin from now. Comenius calls the first years the mother’s school and finds here the rudiments of all later education. And this was true of the Indian mother whose share in education is well brought out by the epithet Virasū—‘The mother of heroes’—of a Kshatriya lady and by invoking the name of the mother when trying to

¹⁰³ Antagado Dasao, Barnett’s Trans., p. 29; Mantra Pāṭha of the Āpastambins, 13, 2; Aśoka’s Rock Edict, IX.

appeal to a sense of heroism. We have good examples in the epithets Āñjaneya for Hanumāna ; Kuntimāta applied to Bhīma and Kaunteya to Arjuna. The child was taught that he was a brother to the Nature's dumb creation, to the guileless calf of the milchcow and even to the noisy Indian crow. The high rocks and giant trees were to him embodiments of a mysterious power which he was taught to reverence. Nature's phenomena like thunder and lightning were explained as the results of the working of this Unseen Being, as much as the soft stillness of the night and the motions of the spheres. He was led from Nature to Nature's God. This was the foundation of his spiritual training.

The family under the guidance of the father was the next factor in the child's education. Kālidās calls a child 'well-trained at home' as 'having a real father' and exhorts each and every father to bring up his children according to the religious instructions by example as well as by precept. Pestalozzi says that life educates more than the school and that the centre of elementary education is the sympathy of ideas, the speech and the intelligent activities of a well-organised family-life. The Hindu joint family furnished the child with his first lessons in the art of co-operation. It is the schooling ground of the social virtues—of sympathy with distress, of unselfish affection, of gratitude for service, of regard for elders, of social service without a sense of patronage and of self-sacrifice in the interest of the other members of the community. In family life alone, in other words, is there complete provision for what Froebel¹⁰⁴ calls 'the fundamental need of childhood'—self-expression.

The Indian home was not so much a preparation for the school as a supplement to it. The father, sitting under the bounteous mango or the shady banyan and the grand-mother at her leisure, kindled not only the child's love of Nature but his interest in literature, by telling him stories and reading aloud to him extracts from the golden deeds of the epic heroes and heroines. The child's personality was worked and developed and his work assessed and appreciated in his treatment of nursery rhymes as well as in the reproduction of these stories. In a joint family, trained to share

¹⁰⁴ The Education of Man., p. 102.

what he had with others one could expect the idea of giving foremost in the mind of every juvenile Nachiketas and the incipient spirit of commercialism clean wiped out of his mind. Thus the Indian family training did not aim at enabling the child to be useful to the family at the earliest possible moment by training him in some practical art but aimed at the harmonious development of his powers.

CHAPTER IV.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

The weaning of the child from the sweet and softening influences of family life was signalised by a great ceremony which took place probably at the age of five. Sometime later, at the age of seven or eight, was initiation into sacred lore at the hands of a spiritual teacher. But in a system where the boy generally followed the occupation of his father, it is probable that he was trained by actual participation in those activities that were required of him in adult life. So primary schools in the modern sense probably did not exist in the earliest times. Even in the Sūtras there is no mention of different curricula for the different stages of education. Indirectly we can gather some information about them from the references in almost all the works of the later systems of philosophy as to the competency of the student to enter upon the study. For instance, the study of Nyāya and Tarka required a student to have gone through the course of grammar, literature and lexicon.¹⁰⁵ For Vedānta, a previous knowledge of Vedic hymns, of Vedāṅgas and a course of regular religious instruction and a pure righteous mind were necessary.¹⁰⁶ Whoever was authorised to enjoy the fruit of the religious rites could study Mimāṃsā.¹⁰⁷ Thus the different sciences laid down different standards of previous preparation, the highest of them being that of the Vedānta. The Sāṅkhya, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣikā systems were a sort of realism and a student who understood written Sanskrit could commence their study, which made him observe and think of the matter and of its properties. No hard and fast rules were laid down anywhere as regards the primary or higher course. That was all left to the discretion of the teacher who marked the capacity of the pupil and led him on step by step from one book to another.

¹⁰⁵ Adhītavākaraṇakābyakoṣonadhītanyāyo bālāḥ.

¹⁰⁶ Adhikāri tubidhibadaditavedavedāṅgatwenāpātato nitāntanirmalaśwāntaḥ.

¹⁰⁷ Palaśwāmyamadhikārah.

In a book on astrology,¹⁰⁸ however, auspicious days and hours are mentioned for the commencement of the teaching of the alphabet to small children. But our authorities differ as to the earliest age for the commencement of such studies. Works on astrology permit education to begin as early as the third year but this was considered too early by writers on medicine. Charaka, for instance, insists on the postponement of the school-going age to the fifth year. According to Viṣṇu Purāṇa the period from birth to the fifth year of the child was regarded as the time for play,¹⁰⁹ after which¹¹⁰ the time for study commenced. Nevertheless, in the case of precocious children, there was introduction to letters at the age of three and initiation to Vedic studies a few years later. According to Kautilya¹¹¹ "having undergone the ceremony of tonsure the student shall learn the alphabet (lipi) and arithmetic. After investiture with the sacred thread he shall study the triple Vedas etc." From the Raghuvamśa¹¹² of Kālidāsa we learn that when the tonsure ceremony was over, Prince Raghu learnt the proper grasping of the alphabets along with the ministers' sons of equal age and then entered the extensive field of learning like one entering the vast expanse of the sea through the mouths of a river. Kālidāsa would not have mentioned the fact of ministers' sons being likewise fit for school, if the prevailing sentiment of the time had looked at such juvenile training as incredible or impossible. According to I-Tsing¹¹³ the children learn the letters of the alphabet etc., when they are six years old. Yuan Chwang informs us that boys passed on to the study of arts and sciences at seven years of age, so that elementary education must have begun earlier.

¹⁰⁸ Mūhurta Mārtanda.

¹⁰⁹ Kālāḥ kriḍanakam te tadante adhyayanasya cha

Tataḥ samastabhogānāṃ teṣāṃ tapah

—Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Part I, XII, 18.

¹¹⁰ Manu II. 37.

¹¹¹ Arthaśāstra, R. Śyāma Śāstrī's Eng. Trans., pp. 10-11.

¹¹² Canto III. śloka 28.

¹¹³ Takakusa's Eng. Trans., pp. 171-72.

Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* also refers to elementary education in the following passages :—

“Taking the name of Suyya, he grew into an intelligent (youth) and having learnt his letters, became a teacher of small boys in the house of some householder.”¹¹⁴

“Kāmadeva.....having acquired a knowledge of the akṣaras became a boy's teacher in the house of Merubardhana (a minister).”¹¹⁵

But the Hindu *Dharmasūtras* and *Gṛhyasūtras* have no reference to any form of literary education outside the Brahminic schools. But silence in works of this kind is not certain evidence that facilities for primary education did not exist and the Brahmins may have had reasons for wishing to ignore any form of education which was not in their hands. We have numerous references to the various and wide-spread uses of writing in the *Jātakas*; to the writing of epistles, sealing a letter, the forging of letters, inscriptions on a gold plate, inscription over hermitage, letters of the alphabet engraved on gold necklets, inscriptions upon garments and accoutrements, the scratching of a message on an arrow, writing on a leaf etc.¹¹⁶

A Buddhist tract called the *Silās* which dates from about 450 B. C.¹¹⁷ gives a list of children's games. One of them is *Akkharikā* (Lettering) which is explained as “guessing at letters traced in the air or on a play-fellow's back.” Such a game amongst children seems to show that the knowledge of the alphabet was prevalent at least among a certain section of the community. The Greek writers *Nearchos* and *Curtius*,

¹¹⁴ Stein's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I. p. 196.

¹¹⁵ Stein's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I. p. 134.

¹¹⁶ *Jātaka* II. 95; 174; VI. 370, 385, 403; I. 451, IV. 124; II. 36, 372, 376; IV. 7, 257, 355, 488; V. 59, 67, 125; VI. 29; VI. 520; IV. 489; VI. 390; VI. 408; II. 90; II. 174; IV. 55; VI. 369, 400.

¹¹⁷ Rhys Davids—*Buddhist India*, p. 108.

in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C., refer to the custom of the Indians of writing letters on cloth and bark. No doubt, Megasthenes, at a slightly later date, relates that judicial cases in India were decided according to unwritten laws and that the Indians knew no letters but in another passage, he speaks of the use of mile-stones to indicate distances and halting places on the high roads.¹¹⁸ Taking these passages together it seems that at that time, writing was used for public and private notifications, though this does not necessarily imply the existence of schools for teaching these arts.

But there is a passage in *Jataka* I. 451 which indicates that there were elementary schools where the art of writing was regularly taught. It tells us how when a rich man's son "was being taught to write" his "young slave used to go with his young master's tablets and so learnt at the same time to write himself." There is a passage also in *Lalitavistāra*¹¹⁹ which shows that at the time when it was composed it was not uncommon for some boys at least to learn writing and arithmetic and there were some facilities for this in the shape of elementary schools of some sort and that these were outside the monasteries. Here we are told that following the usual custom of the world Gautama Buddha went to the 'writing' school to practice well all figures, letters, calculation and reading and writing and moral precepts. It is interesting to note here that a modern system of teaching the letters of the alphabet was also then known as the teacher then taught each of them in association with a sentence beginning with the letter.¹²⁰ The first lesson in writing delineated in sculpture is at Peshwar. The writing board shows a few kharoshti characters, which the infant Buddha is supposed to have written.¹²¹ According to the Elephant Cave Inscription of the year 165 of Mauryan era (157 or 148 B. C.) King Kharavela of Kalinga learnt reading, writing and arithmetic in

¹¹⁸ *Indian Palaeography*, J. G. Buhler, p. 6.

¹¹⁹ Ch. X.

¹²⁰ *Lalitavistāra*—R. L. Mitra, p. 184.

¹²¹ Sculpture No. 347. (*Spooner's Hand book*, p. 54).

his childhood.¹²² The Śikṣā enumerates the course of elementary study as comprising the art of writing (lipi), prayers and psalms (stuti), meanings of words and their mutual relationships (nighaṇṭu) and elementary grammar including terminations and tenses, declensions and inflections (śabha). The Divyābadāna¹²³ has reference to school-room (lekha-śāla), to sciences taught (ketubham), to stories which delight the young learners (parikathā), to pencils used in writing (tulā) and the abacus (janitra) used in teaching arithmetic. The Lalitavistāra¹²⁴ refers also to the wooden writing-board (phalākā). Jātaka No. 125¹²⁵ refers not only to the wooden writing board (phalākā) but also to the wooden pen (barṇaka). And it is interesting to note that both of these are still used in Indian elementary schools.

It is well known that Aśoka issued his Inscriptions with a view to promote amongst his people Dharma or the Law of Piety. These inscriptions were composed in vernacular dialects and inscribed in two different scripts. This shows that they were meant to suit the people of the different provinces and implies a certain percentage of literacy among the people. In the words of Mr. V. A. Smith¹²⁶ "the care taken to publish the imperial edicts and commemorative records by incising them in imperishable characters, most skilfully executed, on rocks and pillars in great cities, on main lines of communication or at sacred spots frequented by pilgrims, implies that a knowledge of reading and writing was widely diffused, and that many people must have been able to read the documents." The same inference may be drawn from the fact that the inscriptions are composed, not in any learned scholastic tongue, but in vernacular dialects intelligible to the common people and modified when necessary to suit local needs."

¹²² J. G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 5.

¹²³ Cowell and Neill's edition, p. 532.

¹²⁴ Chapter X.

¹²⁵ J. G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 5.

¹²⁶ *Aśoka*, third edition, pp. 138-39.

The next question which awaits solution is how far during all the centuries that Buddhism existed in India, Buddhist monasteries influenced the general mass of the people, at least those who adhered to Buddhism and provided opportunities of elementary instruction. Before we can give our verdict we shall do well if we bear in mind that in breaking down the monopoly of higher learning which has been in the hands of Brahmin teachers and in offering the possibilities of education to men of all castes, Buddhism may have done something to extend amongst the people of India the desire for some elementary education. It is also quite certain that Buddhist educational ideals and practices were mostly derived from or closely connected with, those of Brahminism. No doubt the pursuit of secular knowledge would almost seem, from one point of view, to be contrary to the spirit and purpose of Buddhism and yet the monasteries had to make provision for some sort of general and secular education when they found that their rivals—the Brahminical schools—were open not only to young brāhmaṇas who were destined for the priestly office, but to others of the twice-born castes as well. Moreover, elementary instruction was also imparted by the Buddhist monasteries of Burma,¹²⁷ Ceylon,¹²⁸ Tibet¹²⁹ and China.¹³⁰ All these considerations may lead one to the not improbable conclusion that Buddhist monasteries in India also began to impart elementary education of a secular kind, at sometime or other. Mr. V. A. Smith remarks:¹³¹ "It is probable learning was fostered by the numerous monasteries and that the boys and girls in hundreds of villages learned their lessons from the monks and nuns as they do now in Burma from the monks. Aśoka it should be noted, encouraged nunneries, makes particular reference more than once to female lay disciples as well as to nuns. I think it likely that the percentage of literacy among the Buddhist population in Aśoka's time was higher than it is now in many provinces of British India. The returns of 1901 show¹³² that in the

¹²⁷ Shway Yeo, Ch. II.; Burma Past and Present—Albert Fytche, pp. 190-92.

¹²⁸ R. S. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 18 and 313ff.

¹²⁹ S. C. Das, *Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 3-11.

¹³⁰ Fa-Hien, Legge's Eng. Trans., p. 78.

¹³¹ Aśoka, third edition, p. 139.

¹³² *The Indian Empire*, Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. IV. (1907), p. 416.

United Provinces of Agra and Oudh which include many great cities and ancient capitals, the number of persons per 1000 able to read and write amounts to only 57 males and 2 females. In Burma where Buddhist monasteries flourish, the corresponding figures are 378 and 45." There is not, however, any very clear evidence of the fact that Buddhist monasteries began to impart popular secular education as early as the days of Aśoka; but we should bear in mind that the rise of Buddhism is synchronous with the rise of mighty Indian Empires and the welding together of a large part of India into one Empire, under the strong rule of Mauryan sovereigns, must have given increased opportunities for trade and commerce and this may have also led to an increased demand for popular schools where the three R's could be learnt. Moreover, the prevalence of the Vaiṣṇava cult, centuries before the Christian era, which held out the possibility of the attainment of salvation by an earnest layman who does his duty as expounded in the Bhāgavad Gītā is the evidence of a widespread movement amongst laymen in India and it would be not unlikely that it would be also characterised by a growing desire for education. And the growth of the popular form of Buddhism of the Mahāyāna school which similarly held out hopes of spiritual progress to those who are not able to forsake the world and become monks must have given a keener edge to this hankering for secular education.

As a matter of fact we find that at the time of the visit of Fa-Hien (399-414 A. D) the monasteries seem to have begun to undertake instruction of a more general kind than merely instructing those who joined the saṃgha in the precepts of Buddhism. In speaking of the monastery at Pāṭaliputra or Patna, he says¹³³: "By the side of the Tope of Aśoka there has been made a Mahāyāna monastery, very grand and beautiful; there is also a Hinayāna one; the two together containing six or seven hundred monks. The rules of demeanour and the scholastic arrangements in them are worthy of observation. Śāmans (monks) of the highest virtue from all quarters and students, inquirers wishing to find out truth and the grounds of it all resort to these monasteries." In a note on Fa-Hien's

¹³³ Fa-Hien—Legge's Eng. Trans., p. 78.

reference to the "scholastic arrangements" at Patna Prof. Legge says: "Why should there not have been schools in those monasteries in India as there were in China? Fa-Hien himself grew up with other boys in a monastery and no doubt had to go to school. And the next sentence shows us that there might be schools for more advanced students as well as for the śramaners." Thus there seems no reason to doubt that by the time of Fa-Hien the monasteries may have given some general instruction not only to young novices but even to pupils who had no intention of joining the saṃgha. At all events the system was in full swing at the time of I-Tsing's visit. He says¹³⁴: "To try the sharpness of their wit they proceed to the King's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their abilities; there they present their schemes and show their (political) talents *seeking to be appointed in the practical government*.....They receive grants of land and are advanced to a high rank; their famous names are, as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can *follow whatever occupation they like*." But there is a passage¹³⁵ which puts the matter still more clearly and leaves no doubt upon the question: "Those white-robed (laymen) who come to the residence of a priest and read chiefly Buddhist scriptures with the intention that they may one day become tonsured and black-robed are called "Children" (mānava). Those who (coming to a priest) want to learn secular literature only, without having any intention of quitting the world, are called "students" (brahmachāri). These two groups of persons residing in a monastery, have to subsist at their own expense. In the monasteries in India there are many "students" who are entrusted to the bhikṣus and instructed by them in secular literature. On the one hand the "students" serve under priests as pages, on the other the instruction will lead to pious aspirations. It is, therefore, very good to keep them in as much as both sides are benefitted in this way."

These passages make it quite clear that arising out of the duty of the bhikṣus to teach and spread their doctrines and of the relation of the teacher and pupil which the discipline of the order required, the Buddhist monastery had become a place where lived not only those who were studying

¹³⁴ I-Tsing, pp. 177-78.

¹³⁵ I-Tsing, pp. 105-106.

the Buddhist doctrines with a view to joining the order but also those who had no intention of doing so but were residing only for the sake of secular knowledge and education. This practice may have been influenced by the Brahminical schools which were open not only to young brāhmaṇas but to others of the twice-born castes as well.

The Chinese travellers furnish us with some idea of the curricula of studies carried on in these monastic schools. Yuan Chwang says that children began by learning the alphabet and the *siddhir-astu*, a primer of twelve chapters. Then began the study of the five *Vidyās*—*śabda-vidyā* (grammar), *Śilpasthāna-vidyā* (arts and crafts), *Chikitsā-vidyā* (medicine), *Hetuvidyā* (logic), and *Adhyātma-vidyā* (philosophy). I-Tsing gives more details; says he:¹³⁶ "The name for the general secular literature in India is *Vyākaraṇa*, of which there are about five works, similar to the Five Classics of the Divine Land (China).

I. The *Si-t'an Chwang* (*Siddha-composition*) for beginners—This is also called *Siddhirastu*, signifying 'Be there success' (Ch. lit. 'complete be good luck!') for, so named is the first section of this small (book) of learning.

There are forty-nine letters (of the alphabet) which are combined with one another and arranged in eighteen sections; the total number of syllables is more than 10,000 or more than 300 ślokas.....children learn this book when they are six years old and finish it in six months. This is said to have been originally taught by Maheśwara-deva.

II. The *Sūtra*—The *sūtra* is the foundation of all grammatical science. This name can be translated by 'short aphorism' and signifies that important principles are expounded in an abridged form. It contains 1000 ślokas and is the work of Pāṇini.....Children begin to learn the *Sūtra* when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months' time.

III.—The Book on *Dhātu*—This consists of 1000 ślokas and treats particularly of grammatical rules. It is as useful as the above *Sūtra*.

¹³⁶ I-Tsing, pp. 175-179.

IV. The Book on the Three Khilas—Khila means 'wasteland', so called because this (part of grammar) may be likened to the way in which a farmer prepares his field for corn. It may be called a book on the three pieces of waste land; (1) Aṣṭadhātu consists of 1000 ślokas; (2) Wench'a (Manda of Munda) and consists of 1000 ślokas; (3) Unādi too consists of 1000 ślokes. (The first deals with cases and conjugations and the two others with the formation of words from root and suffix or suffixes).

V. Vritti-sūtra (Kāśikāvritti)—This is a commentary on the foregoing Sūtra (i. e., Pāṇini's Sūtra).....It cites the text of the Sūtra and explains minutely its manifold meaning, consisting altogether of 18,000 ślokas.....Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary and understand it after five years.

There thus seems to have been a long course of grammatical study of Sanskrit language, beginning when a boy was six years of age and lasting till he was twenty, which was a preliminary to the study of higher subjects in the secondary stage of education. But this profound study of Sanskrit grammar was of a higher rather than of an elementary type and it is curious that I-Tsing makes no mention of any arrangement for the teaching of reading and writing to the lads who were taking up this course nor of the teaching of arithmetic. It would seem, however, not unlikely that when once the monasteries had begun to receive pupils who were not intending to join the community, the system might have been generally extended and to have catered even for children who only came to learn the three R's and receive some simple religious instruction, and the analogy of Buddhist schools as they exist in Burma and Ceylon even down to the present day would seem to confirm this.

A description of the elementary education carried on in Burma in Buddhist monasteries as given by Lieutenant-General Albert Fytche may help us to form some picture of what the Buddhist elementary schools in India were probably like, though difference of country and lapse of time may have brought about many changes. "It is almost the universal custom for Burmese parents in every class of life, to cause their

sons to enter the monasteries as novices, for the purpose of learning to read and write. As soon as the boys are able to read and write, religious books are put into their hands, from which they imbibe religious notions and become acquainted with at least some portions of their creed...

.....Before a lad can obtain the novitiate he must be at least eight years of age, and his entrance into a monastery is a marked event in his life. He proceeds through the streets to the monastery, dressed in the richest apparel his parents can afford, riding on a horse gaily caprisoned, or sitting in a handsome litter borne on the shoulders of four or more men, with gold umbrellas held over their head, and accompanied by music and a large procession of kinsfolk and acquaintances. On reaching the threshold of the monastery, the postulant is delivered by his parents over to the Superior or Tsaya-dau, after whom he repeats the two Buddhist formularies of the "Three Refuges" (tun-surana) and the ten obligations (das-sil). His head is then shaved and his fine secular dress is changed for the yellow-robe. From that time his identity is lost, he is subjected to monastic discipline, the monastery becomes his home and he must go round every morning with his alms-bowl and subsist on the daily food that is given him.....The novices do not generally remain in the monasteries beyond a few years and then they return to secular life ; but in the event of their remaining until they are twenty years of age, they can then, if they wish it, receive full ordination, and become patsengs or professed members of the order."¹³⁷

"Some boys are boarders, others attend the monastery every day. The instruction begins by teaching a boy the letters of the alphabet written on a rough wooden slate. These he learns by shouting them out at the top of his voice. All the books which are learnt are religious ones, and the curriculum includes the learning of Pali formulæ and prayers necessary for religious worship. The life and sayings of Buddha and the Jātakas are the chief elements of instruction. The pupils repeat their lessons word for word after their teacher, as they sit in rows before him and chant after him all in the same way."¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Burma Past and Present, Lieut-General Albert Fytche, pp. 190-92.

¹³⁸ Shway Yeo, Ch. II.

"The monastic system in Burma has a practical interest from its being connected with national education. Every monastery has its school, where in harmony with the national religion are learnt the same lessons which have been taught from generation to generation for a couple of thousand years. On arriving at some obscure spot in the interior of the country, the first sign of life that often strikes the ear, is the murmuring sound proceeding from the monastery school; and there is not a town or village, scarcely even a hamlet, I think, that has not at least one of such schools."¹³⁹

In schools in Buddhist monasteries in Ceylon the condition of affairs was very similar.¹⁴⁰ There was generally a school attached to the pansal or residence of a Buddhist priest. The children did not all attend at the same period of day but as they had leisure went to the pansal to repeat their lessons and then returned home or went to their employment in some other place. The school was a mere shed open at the sides, with a raised platform in one corner covered with sand on which letters were traced by the finger of the child learning to write. Lessons were usually repeated aloud and were recited in a singing tone, several boys frequently joining in chorus. The alphabet was first learnt and was usually copied on tál leaves; after that the union of vowels and consonants. Then the pupil began to write the letters upon sand, holding in the left hand a piece of wood to erase what had been written. The course of reading included about fourteen books. (1) A name book which was a collection of names of villages, countries, temples, caves, etc.; (2) an enumeration of the various signs and beauties upon the person of Buddha; (3) stanzas in honour of Buddha, Truth etc., with some grammatical rules also; (4) an account of the birth of Gaṇeśa, etc.; (5) stanzas in praise of Buddha in Elu, Pali and Sanskrit; (6) Navaratna ("The nine Jewels")—a description and eulogy of nine most precious things in the world, the principal of which is Buddha; (7) Sanskrit proverbs with explanations; (8) Sanskrit stanzas in honour of Buddha with explanation; (9) Sanskrit stanzas containing the names of the last twenty-four Buddhas, etc.; (10) Pali

¹³⁹ Burma Past and Present, Albert Fytche, p. 205.

¹⁴⁰ R. S. Hardy, Eastern Monachism, pp. 18 and 313 ff.

stanzas in honour of Buddha ; (11) Sanskrit stanzas in honour of the Sun ; (12) Sanskrit stanzas on the management of the voice in recitation ; (13) Pali stanzas in honour of Buddha ; (14) the Amarakoṣa or Sanskrit lexicon, with a Singhalese commentary. There was a course of further studies for those Singhalese students who wanted to prepare themselves for the priesthood or for the medical profession.

In the primary schools attached to Buddhist monasteries education was imparted through the medium of Pali which was the language of the masses and not through Sanskrit as was the case in Brāhmaṇic schools. Once two bhikkhus named Yamelu and Tekula, brahmins by birth but converted to Buddhism, complained to their Lord that the priests 'differing in lineage, in birth, in family' corrupted the language by their own dialect and offered that they would put down his teachings into Sanskrit verse. Gautama said to them "You are not, O bhikkhus, to put the word of the Buddha into Sanskrit verse.....I order you O bhikkhus, to learn the word of the Buddha each in his own dialect."¹⁴¹

In Southern India the Jaina ascetics who established the Digambara sect of Jainism in Tamil land, in Andhra and in Kārṇāṭaka from the early centuries of the Christian era enriched the three vernacular languages of these three countries. They did not use the modulated Prākṛt forms like the Buddhists but used Sanskrit words in their unchanged or tatsama forms in vernacular writing and thus embellished Telegu, Tamil and Kanarese literatures. They also wrote the grammars of these local vernaculars in Sanskrit. They again appear to have started elementary schools for children, as strangely enough we find in Andhra, Tamil and Kārṇāṭaka and even in Mahārāṣṭra that the first sentence taught to children in writing varṇamālā is still the Jaina salutation "Om namaḥ Siddham". The Telegu people use the formula "Om namaḥ Śivāya, Siddham namaḥ".¹⁴² "The first part has been added subsequently by the Śaivas in the South to obliterate the influence of the Jainas when they

¹⁴¹ Chullavagga V. 33. 1.

¹⁴² Rāmaswāmī Ayyanger, Andhra-Kārṇāṭaka Jainism, p. 64; also Studies in South Indian Jainism. The latter portion is said to be Buddhist by Mr. Ayyanger but it seems to be Jain.

themselves started Matams and Pāṭhśālās or primary schools in villages and towns." "In Kalinga or Ooriya the formula is "Siddhirastu" which is clearly Jain.¹⁴³ In Mahārāṣṭra "Śrī Gaṇeśāya namaḥ" is added to "Om namaḥ Siddham." These relics show that formerly the Jain ascetics took a great share in teaching children in the southern countries.

The effect of Muhammadan domination upon these primary schools must have been very considerable. Muhammadanism, at any rate, helped the development of Indian vernaculars and might have given a great impetus not only to the teaching of vernaculars but also to instruction through them. But the growth of a large Muhammadan population might have lessened the number of such Hindu elementary schools and the use of Persian as the official language by the Muhammadan rulers made even Hindus resort to Muhammadan teachers in order to obtain a knowledge of this language and with it the possibility of obtaining Government employment. These Persian elementary schools must then have become numerous in the Muhammadan period. As Abul Fazl, Akbar's personal friend and minister says¹⁴⁴: "In every country, but specially in Hindusthan, boys are kept for years at schools, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the student is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school-boy should first learn to write the letters of the alphabet and also learn to trace their various forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart and then commit to memory some verses to the praise of God or moral sentences, each written separately. Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought for some time to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought specially to look after five things, knowledge of the letters; meanings of words; the hemistich; the verse; the former lesson. If

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ *Āin-Ākbarī* (Blochmann and Jarret's edition) p. 278; Gladwin's edition I. 223.

this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much so that people will get astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of Government, medicine, logic, the *tabī'i*, *riyāzī* and *ilāhi* sciences and history; all of which may be gradually acquired. In studying Sanskrit students ought to learn the *Vyakarana*, *Niyai*, *Vedānta* and *Patanjal*. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires." This passage, however, does not refer to Hindu primary schools although it mentions Hindu Sanskrit education. But such schools no doubt continued to exist and would be used by the Hindu trading and agricultural classes.

Pietra della valle¹⁴⁵ who visited India in 1623 thus describes a Hindu primary school in South India :—"In the meantime, while the burthens were getting in order, I entertained myself in the porch of the temple, beholding little boys learning arithmetic, after a strange manner, which I will here relate. They were four and having all taken the same lesson from the master, in order to get that same by heart and repeat likewise their former lessons and not forget them, one of them singing musically with a certain continu'd tone (which hath the force of making a deep impression upon the memory) recited part of the lesson; as for example, "one by itself makes one"; and while he was thus speaking, he writ down the same number, not with any kind of pen, nor on paper but (not to spend paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strew'd all over with very fine sand; after the first had writ what he sung, all the rest sung and writ down the same thing together. Then the first boy sung and writ down another part of the lesson; as for example, "two by itself makes two", which all the rest repeated in the same manner and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures they put them out with the hand and if need were, strew'd it with new sand from a little heap which they had before them wherewith to write further. And thus they did as long as the exercise

¹⁴⁵ *Travels of Pietra delle valle* (Hakluyt Society's Publication) II. 227.

continu'd, in which manner likewise, they told me, they learnt to read and write without spoiling paper, pens or ink, which certainly is a pretty way." Mr. William Adam in his Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal (1835-38)¹⁴⁶ mentions that one of the text-books used in the Hindu vernacular schools was Subhankar's rhyming arithmetic rules which he says were evidently composed during the existence of Muhammadan power, as it was full of Persian terms and reference to Muhammadan usages. This shows how even the Hindu elementary schools had to accommodate themselves to some extent to the altered circumstances which were brought about by Moslem rule.

¹⁴⁶ Edited by Rev. J. Long, p. 97.

CHAPTER V.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BRAHMANIC SEATS OF LEARNING.

We have already seen that before the upanayana and the commencement of Vedic study the Hindu child did not pass his days idly but received an elementary training in the writing schools in one of which Gautama Buddha received his primary education. But in earlier times the education of the child up to the age of seven seems to have been more in the home than in these schools. But later on when the religious ceremonials were beginning to increase in complexity and the literal sense of the hymns was becoming foreign to the people in general, it became necessary to take precautions for securing and establishing their sense. "To attain these objects" says Weber "those most conversant with the subject were obliged to give instruction to the ignorant and circles were formed around them of travelling scholars who made pilgrimages from one teacher to another according as they were attracted by the fame of special learning".¹⁴⁷

Thus there gradually came into existence a large mass of literature composed by eminent teachers, containing explanations and discussions of various texts and allusions and references to their application to rituals. The Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas teem with discussions of the meaning, significance and application to several Vedic passages.¹⁴⁸ These discussions and dissertations were later classified and arranged under different heads. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the Anuśāsanas¹⁴⁹ which are commandments issued to the learners of the Veda in conformity with the spirit of these texts ; the Vidyās or mystic and sacred lore ; Vākovākya or logic ; Itihāsa or legendary history ; Purāṇa or legendary lore ; Nārāśrīpsis or verses in commemoration of patrons and heroes ; Gāthās or sententious

¹⁴⁷ History of Indian Literature—Weber, p. 21.

¹⁴⁸ Rgveda X. 85, 6.

¹⁴⁹ Śāsanas means instruction. C. f. Śāstā (teacher), Śāstrā (treatise), Śādhi (teacher), Anuśāstṛ (teacher).

sentences. The Taittiriya Āraṇyaka has practically the same list but puts the two last together.¹⁵⁰

It is as a result of this process and further specialisation of the various branches of learning that we have the systematisation of the Vedāṅgas. The first reference to the Vedāṅgas is to be found, I believe, in the term Anuśāsana, which occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Sāyaṇa explains the term as meaning the vedāṅgas and his explanation is not inherently impossible, as the Vedāṅgas were then already in the embryo, and it might be included under the general term anuśāsana, which literally means only studies and directions auxiliary to the study of the Vedic texts.¹⁵¹

The earliest of the Vedāṅgas appears to have been Kalpa, which contains not only directions for sacrifices, as is usually believed, but also general rules of conduct and regulations in regard to study and teaching. It is mentioned in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣhad,¹⁵² for instance, that it was laid down in the early Kalpas that knowledge of the highest kind should not be imparted to one who was not calm and tranquil in spirit and who was not a son or resident disciple. The Nirukta was the crystallisation of the discussions stimulated by the spirit of enquiry prevalent in the age of ritualism. The riddle verses of the Atharvaveda represent probably the earliest step in this direction. The Yajurveda has the expression "praśnam etc." and the Brāhmaṇa has praśnin, abhipraśnin and praśnavivāka—questioner, cross-questioner and answerer. There can hardly be any reference here to 'parties in law-suit' which is a gratuitous assumption. The significance is educational rather than legal. Praśna in course of time, came to denote a section or division of a thesis. Along with the praśnin of the Yajurveda and the Provāchika of the Atharvan, we may take the Nirvachana of the Brāhmaṇa literature, which is certainly connected etymologically with Nirukta,¹⁵³ the science of etymology. The best known work under this head is that of Yāska, who mentions no

¹⁵⁰ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X. 1 ; Taitt. Āraṇyaka II. 9 ; Atharvaveda XV. 6. The meanings of these terms are clear from Taitt. Āraṇyaka I, 1, 1, 6 etc.

¹⁵¹ As in Taitt. Up. 1, 1, 13.

¹⁵² Svet. Up. VI. 22 ; c. f. Maitrā. Br. Up. VI. 29.

¹⁵³ Nirukta is derived from nirvach to explain.

fewer than a dozen predecessors of whom Aupamanyava, Aruṇavābha, Śākapuṇi and Sthaulashṭhivi are otherwise known. ¹⁵⁴

Of the other Vedāṅgas Śikṣhā and Chhandas are already in evidence through the evolution of Vedic phonology and early works on Chhandas are known to have existed, bearing the names of Yāska and Saitava and on Śikṣhā as preserved in the Māṇḍuki school. The earliest of the existing works is that of Piṅgala Nāga on Metrics and of Vyāsa on Phonetics. Vyākaraṇa had a long history and development before the days of Pāṇini who mentions at least sixty-four distinguished predecessors. In Yāska's day the Vyākaraṇa school of Gārgya stood in opposition to the Nairuktaka school founded by Śākatāyana. Stages in the evolution of stellar astronomy are marked by the mention of lunar asterisms and years in the hymns ; the solar year, intercalation and cyclic years in the Brāhmaṇas ; and the references to planets, vague in the Brāhmaṇas but clear in the Upaniṣhads. All this formed the subject-matter of Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa.

As long as the six Vedāṅgas consisted of short simple treatises there existed only Vedic schools. But as the materials for the study of the subjects included in the six Aṅgas accumulated, such an enormous amount of matter would have to be worked through by the intending students that it evidently became impossible for one student to acquire a mastery of all the subjects and so special schools arose for the study of special subjects. The members of the former devoted their energy to get full and accurate knowledge of the sacred texts together with the accompanying Aṅgas but took very little care to understand the subject matter, so that they became "living libraries" ; while the special schools taught their special subjects thoroughly and intelligently. This is made clear by the state of Hindu learning in modern times. It is said that there are men called Vaidics who can recite whole volumes of the Vedic texts. But besides this there are specialists who have an expert knowledge of some part of ancient learning such as the performance of sacrifices, grammar, law or astronomy. This specialisation must have begun in very early times, as the work of grammarians like Pāṇini shows. Thus were formed special schools of grammar, law and astronomy.

¹⁵⁴ Taitt. Br. III. 4.

These special schools helped in the growth of a vast body of literature bearing on the Vedic texts which were further developed in the various schools of study and interpretation :—Śākhās, Vyūhas and Charaṇas. There were at least four different schools of Vedic interpretation, known to Yāska :—aitihāsika, ādhyātmika, ādhiyajñika and svābhāvika. The traditional learning was preserved and propagated by various families in different parts of the country. The patriarchal Gotras of the Āryas and the Kulas of spiritual teachers became special guardians of the composition of these schools and of the improvements effected by them in the arrangement and order of studies. In course of time, these gave place to new integrations of scholars—teachers and students—in the Charaṇas. Each Charaṇa or school of Vedic study had its own arrangement of texts, its own manner of application of texts to rituals and its own rules for the conduct and discipline of its members. The relationship by blood characteristic of the Gotra was now replaced by one of cultural relationship and socio-religious observances. In a work named Charaṇayavyuha (a catalogue of all schools or charaṇas) there are mentioned five charaṇas of the R̥gveda, twenty-seven of the Black Yajurveda, fifteen of the White Yajurveda, twelve of the Sāmaveda and nine of the Atharvaveda.

In course of time the sacred books which had to be mastered by the student had increased to a huge bulk and it became necessary to condense their teaching into some convenient form. This literature is known as the Sūtras. These Sūtra schools multiplied rapidly and came to fall into three classes according to their subject of teaching. The Śrauta Sūtra schools taught the details of ceremonials relating to Vedic sacrifices. Each Veda had its own Śrauta Sūtras and the noteworthy teacher of them are Aśvālāyana and Sāṅkhālyana belonging to the R̥gveda, Lātyāyana and Drāhyāyana to the Sāmaveda, Baudhāyana, Āpasthamba and Hiranyakeśhin to the Black Yajurveda and Kātyāyana to the White Yajurveda. Next come the Dharma Sūtra schools which taught the students the customs, manners and laws of the society. Then come the Gṛhya Sūtra schools which taught the rights and obligations of the son, husband, the wife, the father etc., towards one another and set forth distinct rules for the conduct of each one. The present codes of Manu and Yājñabalkya grew up in one of these Dharma

Sūtra schools. The Shulba Sūtra schools taught geometry, purely as was required for the preparation of sacrificial altars. All these classes of Sūtra school branched off from the school of Kalpa.

In course of time there grew up the different schools of Hindu Law. The notion that Hindu religion is exclusively the source of Hindu law is mainly responsible for the idea too often entertained that Hindu law is incapable of growth but the most superficial student of Hindu law will not fail to observe that in reality its history has been otherwise. Indeed the chief agencies of this development have been custom and the commentaries. These commentaries written either by kings like Aparaka of Konkan or by learned Brahmins have twisted and tortured a text of the Smṛti according to the views of justice and practical utility entertained by their authors and according as these views have been accepted in one place and rejected in another, have grown up the different schools of Hindu law. Thus Vijñāneśwara, the author of the *Mitākṣarā*, when discussing the text prescribing unequal shares for sons according to priority of birth, lays down the general principle that practices expressly inculcated by the sacred law-codes may become obsolete and should be abandoned if opposed to public opinion. So also Nilkaṇṭha, the author of *Mayukha* in discussing the right of a Śūdra to adopt expressly refers on the authority of his own father, to custom as justifying him in the particular interpretation put by him on the following text of Saunaka :—"But a daughter's son and a sister's son are affiliated even by Śūdras". Again relying on custom he comes to the conclusion that a boy can be adopted even after marriage.

Professor Winternitz¹⁵⁵ has profounded the theory that the *Arthaśāstra* was originally taught in the schools of *Dharmaśāstra* among the "duties of the king" but at the same time it branched off from the *Dharmaśāstra* and was taught in separate schools of *Arthaśāstra*, the reason being that the same teachers appear in the *Mahābhārta* and elsewhere as authors of both *Dharmaśāstras* and *Arthaśāstras*. But Prof. Winternitz ignores the fact that Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* itself refers to the existence of *Vārta* (Economics) and *Daṇḍa-nīti* (Polity) as separate branches of learning which developed very early in separate

¹⁵⁵ Calcutta Review, April, 1924.

schools and the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstra utilised the results of the study of these two branches of learning in those schools. There are evidences in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra showing that treatises on Polity made use of sūtra style. This together with the existence of separate works on Polity, *e. g.*, the Chāṇakyaśūtra and Br̥haspatishūtra make it very probable that there was a sūtra period in the development of treatises on Polity just as there was a sūtra period in the development of the law-codes like that of Manu. It is not, therefore, likely at all that Arthaśāstras should branch off from the Dharmaśāstras. It was in the treatises on Daṇḍanīti and Vārta that full treatment can be made of the subjects of Polity and Economics. The Dharmaśāstras made only a very meagre treatment of those subjects because their full treatment was not the province of a code of law. It would, therefore, be proper to hold the view that the Arthaśāstras and the Dharmaśāstras developed on parallel lines and just as the Dharmaśāstras had a sūtra period, so also the branches of learning—Vārta and Daṇḍanīti—utilised by the Arthaśāstras passed through a similar sūtra period and could well have been contemporaneous with the works of the corresponding stages of development of the Dharmaśāstras.

The growth of these special schools began not later than the 5th century B. C.¹⁵⁶ It is thought that Law became a special subject of study at a somewhat later date than Grammar or Astronomy. But even in the Rāmāyaṇa and in some of Dharmaśūtras there are traces that the specialisation had already begun. Thus in the Rāmāyaṇa¹⁵⁷ we find a reference to professors of the Tattirīya branch and to students who are specialising in the Kāṭha branch of Vedic studies. On the eve of his journey to Daṇḍakāraṇya Rāma ordered Lakṣhmaṇa to make various gifts to such men living under his protection.¹⁵⁸ Reference to paṇḍits who have specialised in Vedic learning, in the Purāṇas, Swara-lakṣhmaṇa, in the science of music, in Chhanda-lakṣhmaṇa,

¹⁵⁶ For the beginnings of specialisation, see Buhler, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV. (The Law code of Manu), p. XLVI ff.

¹⁵⁷ Ayodhyakāṇḍa, 32nd Sarga.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

in Sāmudṛk lakṣmaṇa, in Tāla, in Astrology, in Kalpasūtra, in sacrificial ceremonies, in Logic, in Grammar, etc., authors of books on a painting (Chitra-Kābya-praṇetā) is also to be found.¹⁵⁹ Rāma brought all of them in connection with his sacrifice and then summoned Kuśa and Laba to sing Rāmāyaṇa in their presence.¹⁶⁰ Again in Gautama¹⁶¹ regarding the composition of the Pariṣad we find that besides the men who have completely studied the Veda, there are those who know the different Dharmasūtras, besides the three representatives of the first three āśramas. In Vaśiṣṭha¹⁶² and Baudhāyana,¹⁶³ the three specialists are student of the Mimāṃsā, that is, one who knows the sacrificial rules, one who knows the Angas and one who recites the works on the sacred law. In Manu¹⁶⁴ those who know the Vedas are reduced to three and the specialists are a Logician, a Mimāṃsaka, one who knows the Nirukta and one who recites the Institutes of the sacred law. Similarly we find in Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā¹⁶⁵ the following specialists who along with others are called the sanctifiers of the rows of learned Brahmins:—one who knows the text of the four sacrifices (Aśvamedha, Puruṣamedha, Sarvamedha and Pitr̥medha), one who knows Vājasena (branch of the White Yajurveda), one who knows the six Angas, one who knows Chhandas (Vedic metre) and the brāhmaṇa who studies the sacred law treatises.

These Vedic schools and Special schools were run by a teacher who admitted to his family as many pupils as he could manage. Such teachers were householders. To them students came from all sides "as water runs downwards, as months go to the year".¹⁶⁶ In a hymn of the Rgveda¹⁶⁷ there is a reference to such a school which compares the meeting together of the teacher and the taught with the gathering of the frogs in the rainy season:—

¹⁵⁹ Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, 94th Sarga.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ III. 20.

¹⁶² XII. 110-112.

¹⁶³ Taittiriya Upaniṣad I. 4. 3.

¹⁶⁴ Rgveda VII. 103, Griffith's translation.

¹⁶¹ Chapter XXIX.

¹⁶² i, 1, 5-13.

¹⁶³ III. 19.

also of a number of students who were receiving instruction from them, and thus these Pariṣads would form the nucleus of something corresponding to a University. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣhad¹⁷² we read that Śvetaketu went to the Pariṣad of the Pāñchālas. King Pravahana Jaibali was the member of Pāñchāla Pariṣhad of scholars which he attended every day.

Max Muller says¹⁷³ that according to modern writers a Pariṣad ought to consist of twenty-one brahmins, well versed in philosophy, theology and law. But in early times it seems that a smaller number would have been sufficient. According to Manu¹⁷⁴ "Whatever an assembly of ten or three qualified brahmins, faithful to their duties, shall lay down as the law, must be accepted as such. Such an assembly shall consist of at least ten brāhmaṇas consisting of three persons who each know one of the three principal Vedas, a Logician, a Mīmāṃsaka, one who knows the Nirukta, one who recites the institutes of the sacred law and three men belonging to the first three āśramas. One who knows the Yajurveda, one who knows the Sāmaveda shall be known to form an assembly consisting of at least three members and competent to decide doubtful points of law." According to Gautama¹⁷⁵ "All matters of doubt should be submitted to the deliberations of at least ten honest, greedless, impartial men of wisdom of the following type for settlement: Four of them must be brahmins well-versed in the Vedas; one member of good conduct from each of the following orders, *viz.*, brahmachārins, householders and vānaprasthas and three men who know the different institutes of law. A council consisting of the aforesaid type is called a Pariṣad." According to Vasiṣṭha.¹⁷⁶ "Four men who each know one of the four Vedas, one who knows Mīmāṃsā, one who knows the Angas, a preceptor of the sacred law and three leading men of the first three āśramas constitute a Pariṣad consisting of at least ten (members)." According to Baudhāyana¹⁷⁷ "it shall consist ten members consisting of four men

¹⁷² VI. 2.

¹⁷³ History of Sanskrit Literature—Max Muller, pp. 128-132.

¹⁷⁴ Manu XII. 110-112.

¹⁷⁵ Chapter XXIX.

¹⁷⁶ III. 20.

¹⁷⁷ i, 1, 5-13.

who each know one of the four Vedas, one well-versed in *Mīmāṃsā*, one who knows the *Angas* and three brahmins belonging to the first three *āśramas*." According to *Yājñabalkya*¹⁷⁸ "Four persons well-read in the Vedas and religious codes or a number of brahmins versed in the three Vedas, form a synod. Whatever this synod or a person foremost among those well-versed in spiritual science declares is religion." According to *Parāśara*¹⁷⁹ "An assembly consisting of three or five brahmins who are well-versed in the Vedas and *Vedāṅgas* even without consecrating the sacred fire is called a *Paṛiṣad*. Even a single brahmin who is a *muni* with a knowledge of his self and devoted to prayers, performances of Vedic sacrifices and ceremonial oblations, may constitute a *Paṛiṣad* in his individual capacity. In the absence of five brahmins of the aforesaid type, an assembly consisting of brahmins who are content with their own profession should be regarded as a *Paṛiṣad*." Further we are told "He who is well-versed in the four Vedas and *Vedāṅgas*, who studies the scriptures and has got a mind free from all hesitations or waverings should be regarded as constituting the best *Paṛiṣad* in his individual self. In the absence of such a man, a council consisting of ten *brāhmaṇa* householders should be reckoned as a *Paṛiṣad* of the middling class."¹⁸⁰ These details about the composition of the assembly are interesting as showing how specialisation in Vedic study had begun in very early times. It is equally interesting to find that not only were the different faculties represented in this nucleus of a University but even a student (*brahmachārin*) was a member of the *Paṛiṣad*.

Some of the centres of learning were the hermitages of ṛṣis or other learned men who retired to the forests in their old age. We learn from Buddhist literature that the Buddha after stealing away from his father's palace went to the hermitage of one of the ascetics living in the forest near the *Rājagṛha* hills, *Ālāra Kālāma* by name. He taught Gautama the doctrine of nothingness. Gautama describes his progress thus: "Very speedily I learned the doctrine and so far as concerns uttering with mouths

¹⁷⁸ I, 2.

¹⁷⁹ VIII, 12-21.

¹⁸⁰ *Parāśara* VIII, 34.

and lips the words, "I know, I understand", I and others with me knew the word of wisdom and ancient lore. Then the thought occurred to me "When Ālāra Kālāma declares : "Having myself realised and known this doctrine, I abide in the attainment thereof", it cannot all be a mere profession of faith ; surely Ālāra Kālāma sees and knows this doctrine."

Knowledge in ancient India was not a mere matter for memory, study or intellectual apprehension, it was something to be realised and lived. Thus the Buddha strove hard to reach as far as his teacher in that doctrine so as ultimately "to dwell in the attainment of a knowledge and realisation thereof". He achieved success in his efforts in no long time, whereupon his teacher unable to contain himself, burst out as follows : "Happy friend, are we ; yea, doubly happy, in that we look upon such a venerable one, such a fellow-ascetic as thee ! The doctrine which I know, that thou knowest ; and the doctrine which thou knowest, that I know. As I am, so art thou ; as thou art, so am I. Come friend, you and I together lead this company of ascetics". Thus did the teacher put his pupil "on a perfect level with himself, so honouring him with exceeding great honour". But Gautama could not remain satisfied with that doctrine and seeking the highest good, the incomparable path to Peace Supreme, he sought another teacher and went where dwelt Uddaka, the disciple of Rāma and thus addressed him : "I wish, friend, to lead the ascetic life under this discipline and doctrine". As before he "speedily acquired this doctrine so far as concerns lip-profession" and later on achieved sufficient mastery to be able "to abide in a realisation and knowledge of the doctrine" and was treated by his teacher as fully his equal. With the knowledge and training in Yoga received from his brāhmaṇa teachers, the Buddha then resolved to depend upon himself for his further progress and retired to the jungles of Uruvelā near the present temple of Bodh Gayā. There he "spied a beautiful secluded spot among the trees, with a pleasant, shallow clear-flowing river close by, easily accessible, with field and pastures all around" and immediately settled down, saying "this suits well for effort". Early Buddhism with its scheme for self-suppression was not dead to the objective beauty of Nature as an aid to the inner spiritual life.

An idea of the free academic life and the variety and catholicity of studies in these hermitages will be evident from the description given in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁸¹ of the hermitage of Kaṇva. It was situated on the bank of the Mālīni river and there many ṛṣis were reciting the hymns of the Rgveda and many others were singing passages from the Sāmaveda and the Atharvaveda. In another part of the hermitage ṛṣis who had seen the end of various śāstras like the Purāṇas, Nyāya, Tatva, Ātmaviveka, Śabdaśāstra, the Vedas with their Vedāṅgas and who were well-versed in the science of matter with its actions and qualities, in the speech of birds and lower animals were discussing with one other the subtle points of their respective branches of study. Followers of Buddhism also were studying their own sacred texts.

The ṛṣis who lived in these hermitages were not all lonely recluses or celibate anchorites cut off from the society of women and the family. Some of them formed family groups, living with their wives and children, but not pursuing wealth or fame or material advancement like ordinary householders. Thus they lived in the world but were not of it. They had frequent touch with the cities and the royal court by means of respectful invitations to the domestic ceremonies of the kings and rich men and the visits made by the latter to their hermitages in a spirit of pilgrimage. Their pupils included their own children and also boys from the busy world, who lived with the hermits, shared their toils, studied under them and served them like their own sons. Then after finishing their education they would bow down to the guru, pay their dakṣhiṇā and come to the busy world to take places among the men of action. In the calm of these sylvan retreats learning was thus fostered by the ṛṣis who were maintained in learned leisure partly by their pupils' foraging in the woods and fields and partly by the gifts of kings and rich householders.

These hermitages were, indeed, as effectual for the promotion of knowledge as the cathedrals of Mediæval Europe, but without the unnatural monachism of the latter. Lecky¹⁸² thus remarks about

¹⁸¹ *Ādi Parva*, 70th Adhyāya.

¹⁸² *History of European Morals*, cabinet edition, II. 137, 334-35.

the celibate clergy of the Catholic world : " The effect of the mortification of the domestic affections upon the general character was probably very pernicious. In Protestant countries, where the marriage of the clergy is fully recognised, it has, indeed, been productive of the greatest and most unequivocal benefits. Nowhere does Christianity assume a more beneficial or a more winning form than in those gentle clerical households which stud our land, constituting as Coleridge said, 'the one idyl of modern life' the most perfect type of domestic peace, the centre of civilisation in the remotest village..... Among the Catholic priesthood, on the other hand, where the vow of celibacy is faithfully observed, a character of a different type is formed, which with very grave and deadly faults, combines some of the noblest excellences to which humanity can attain." This evil was avoided in Ancient India.

The sanskrit poets like Kalidās, Bhababhūti and others love to depict the beautiful surroundings of these hermitages and the simple life of their inhabitants in contact with both animate and inanimate Nature. The *Parāśara Saṃhitā*¹⁸³ describes the Badarikāśrama of Parāśara, son of Śakri, father of the holy Vyāsa, thus : " Trees of wonderful fruit and foliage enhanced the beauty of that holy forest where fountains and rivulets of crystal flow ran babbling into sacred pools. Herds of deer were found to roam about and birds of beautiful plumage were heard to join their melodious notes in a chorus of harmony". It is also a noteworthy fact that in each of the places of preaching and places of his retreat the Buddha preferred the forest near by to the city itself. Thus at Rājagṛha he would reside in the Veluvana or Yaśtivasa or the Uravelā village; at Śrāvastī there were the famous Jetavana and its elaborately constructed vihāra, as well as the Pubhārāma; at Kauśāmbī, he had the Ghoṣitārāma at his disposal; at Vaiśālī he had the Mahāvana with its Kutāgāra hall and for his second residence the mango-grove or Āmrāpālī; at Pāvā he would stay in Chunda's mango-grove; Kapilāvastu has its Nyagrodha grove, and Benares had its deer-park at Isipatana. Hence the remark of Dr. Rabindranāth¹⁸⁴ " A most wonderful thing

¹⁸³ I. 6-7.

¹⁸⁴ *Bīśva-bhārati Quarterly*, April, 1924, p. 64.

that we notice in India is that there the forest, not the town, is the fountain-head of civilisation. Wherever in India its earliest and most wonderful manifestations are noticed, we find that there men have not come into so close a contact as to be rolled or pushed into a compact body or mass or whole. There, trees and plants, rivers and lakes, had an ample opportunity to live in close relationship with men. In these forests, though there was human society, there was enough of open space or aloofness; there was no jostling. Still this aloofness did not produce an inertness in the Indian mind; on the other hand it rendered it all the brighter. It is the forest that has nurtured the great ancient sages of India, the Vedic and the Buddhistic. Not only the Vedic ṛṣis but Lord Buddha also preached in many woods of India. The royal palace had no room for him, it was the forest that took him into its lap. The current of civilisation that flowed from the forest inundated the whole of India".

"Here is an Indian ideal that it would be well to revive, for this planting of universities in the midst of great cities is European and not Indian. Oxford and Cambridge alone in England have kept up the tradition of their Aryan forefathers. The modern "Civic Universities" as they are called, are planted in the midst of the most tumultuous, hurrying noisy cities in England. Not from them will come sublime philosophies or artistic master-pieces, but they will doubtless produce men of inventive genius, miracles of machinery, new ways of annihilating space. But in a country in which a man is valued for what he is, not for what he has, in which a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth, the Indian ideal is the most suitable. The essence of that Ideal is not the forest as such but the being in close touch with Nature; to let her harmonies permeate the consciousness and her calm soothe the restlessness of the mind. Hence it was the forest, which best suited the type and the object of the instruction in the days which evolved ṛṣis; instruction which aimed at profound rather than at swift and alert thought; which cared not for lucid exposition by the teacher, but presented to the pupil, a kernel of truth in a hard shell, which he must crack unassisted with his own strong teeth if he would enjoy the kernel; if he could not break the shell, he could go without

the fruit; instruction which thought less of an accumulation of facts poured out into the pupil's memory than of the drawing out in him the faculty which could discover the truth, hidden beneath a mass of irrelevancies; of such fruitful study the Hindu Āśrama in the forest is the symbol".¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Kamalā Lectures, 1925—Annie Beasant, pp. 26-27.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORGANISATION OF SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BRĀHMANIC SEATS OF LEARNING.

An idea of the educational organisation of the Brāhmanic seats of learning can be formed from an intelligent study of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣhads but more fully from that of the Śrautasūtras, the Gṛhyasūtras, the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmasāstras.

§ 1.—THE IMPORTANCE OF A TEACHER IN EDUCATION.

The Upaniṣhads fully recognise the futility of mere self-study. In the Kāṭha Upaniṣhad ¹⁸⁶ the teacher is represented as indispensable to knowledge: "Apart from the teacher there is no access here". The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣhad ¹⁸⁷ says "Let him in order to understand this, take fuel in his hand and approach a Guru who is learned and dwells entirely in Brahman". Again, "Not by self-study is the ātman realised, not by mental power, nor by amassing much information". ¹⁸⁸ That a teacher is necessary to disperse the mist of empirically acquired knowledge from our eyes is explained beautifully in the following passage from the Chāndogya Upaniṣhad: ¹⁸⁹ "Precisely, my dear Sir, as a man who has been brought blind-fold from the country of Gāndhāra and then set at liberty in the desert, goes astray to the east, north or south, because he has been brought thither blind-fold and blind-fold set at liberty; but after that some one has taken off the bondage and has told him "In this direction Gāndhāra lies, go in this direction", instructed and prudent, asking the road from village to village, he find his way home to Gāndhāra; even so the man, who in this world has met with a teacher becomes conscious, 'To this (transitory world) shall I belong only until the time of my release, thereafter shall I go home,". In the Śatapatha Saṃhitā ¹⁹⁰ we are told that "the pilferer of learning and books is born dumb". In the Mahābhārata ¹⁹¹ there is a story of Yavakṛta who studied the

¹⁸⁶ II. 8.

¹⁸⁷ I. 2. 12.

¹⁸⁸ III. 2. 3.

¹⁸⁹ VI. 14. 1-2.

¹⁹⁰ IV. 22.

¹⁹¹ Bana-parva 134th and 137th Adhyāyas.

Vedas without a Guru and then had to suffer a lot of misery for that. Indeed the Vedas cannot be wellread even from mere books (because of the accents), much less learnt. From a teacher alone one can learn the proper pronunciation. Hence it became the custom that only from a teacher one should learn and the people believed that the lore learned from a teacher could alone be successful and beneficial.

§ 2.—THE SELECTION AND ADMISSION OF STUDENTS.

There was the custom of selecting students for admission into the school. According to Manu ¹⁹² the teacher should select only ten classes of pupils for instruction—the son of one's teacher, one who did personal service, one who taught some other subject, a good man, a man pure in mind and heart, a reliable friend, one capable of comprehending and applying the knowledge acquired, a patron and a recluse. Uśanā Samhitā ¹⁹³ says: "An Āchārya's son, one who wishes to hear attentively, one who has given knowledge (in any other subject), a virtuous person, a person pure in body and mind, a relative, one who is capable of understanding the scriptures, one who is liberal in giving away money, a good man and a kinsman—these ten should be taught according to the rules of religious teaching. A Kṣatriya who is grateful, shorn of malice, intelligent and always doing good; a Vaiśya, endowed with similar qualifications, a grateful Brāhmaṇa, a non-injuring Brāhmaṇa, an intelligent Brāhmaṇa and a Brāhmaṇa doing good unto all—these six should also be taught by the leading twice-born ones. Even though it be quite contrary to the established rules of religious instruction, when a Bipra, invested with the sacred thread by another, comes he should be taught. Instruction in the Vedas should be given to those only and not to any one else; so it is said." According to Yājñabalkya Samhitā ¹⁹⁴ "The grateful, the submissive, the intelligent, the pure, those who do not suffer from mental and physical ailments, those who are shorn of jealousy, the good-natured, those who are clever in serving friends, those who distribute learning and riches, are worthy of receiving religious instructions". According to Śukrāchārya ¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² II. 138, 240, 241.

¹⁹⁴ I. 28.

¹⁹³ III. 35-37.

¹⁹⁵ Śukranītisāra, Ch. III. line 637.

"one should, educate his own child as well as other's children but not the offenders". From *Uśanā Samhitā* ¹⁹⁶ we learn that the student used to live in the house of his teacher without being taught for some time. During this period the teacher had enough opportunity to test or examine his pupil. He would give him instructions in Vedic study only when he thought the pupil fit for it. If the pupil had anything wrong in his conduct the teacher during this one year would correct him his faults and then teach him. The Indian teacher was thus not a believer in making higher education open to all; he imparted instruction to a student only when he was duly qualified for it by his character and capacity, by his heredity and environment. To those times may be applied the observations made recently by Lord Hugh Cecil: "Uniformity is the essence of any and every system, whereas infinite variety and infinite irregularities are the characteristics of people. The only education, therefore, that deserves the name or is really beneficial, is that which ministers to individual capacity and personality. When that connection and response are lacking, teaching and being taught are a funeral waste of time."¹⁹⁷

§ 3.—THE INITIATION CEREMONY: THE SYMBOL OF ADMISSION AS A STUDENT.

In the *Atharvaveda* ¹⁹⁸ there is a mystic hymn which describes the Sun or the primeval principle, under the figure of a *Brāhmaṇa* student who brings firewood (*samidh*) and alms for his teacher. This offering of sacrificial fire to a teacher became the regular way by which a youth sought to be recognised as his pupil and implied a desire to partake in his domestic sacrifice and to accept the duty of helping to maintain it.¹⁹⁹ This is the earliest reference to *Upanayanam*. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* we are given a line of teachers who have transmitted the sacrificial science to that time.²⁰⁰ This line is traced back to

¹⁹⁶ III. 33-34.

¹⁹⁷ Sunday Times, London, August 7, 1925.

¹⁹⁸ XI. 5.

¹⁹⁹ *Kaṣ. Up.* IV. 19; *Chāndogya Up.* IV. 5; V. 13, 17; VIII. 7. 2; X. 3; XI. 2; *Muṇḍaka Up.* I. 2. 12; *Praśna Up.* I. 1.

²⁰⁰ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X. 6, 5, 9.

Prajāpati (the creator) and Brāhmaṇa students are spoken of as guarding their teacher, his house and cattle, lest he should be taken away from them.²⁰¹ There are references also to a lad going to a teacher with firewood in his hand and asking to become his pupil²⁰². This book contains an account of the Upanayana (initiation) ceremony of a Brāhmaṇa student.²⁰³ He is made to say to the preceptor "I have come for brahmacharya (studentship); let me be a brahmachārī (student)". The request to be received by the preceptor was to be duly made *i. e.*, according to the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣhad²⁰⁴ with the words "Upaimyāham vābantam".²⁰⁵ Before receiving him, the teacher makes enquiry into his name, his birth and family. Satyakāma Jābāla going to Gautama Hāridrumata said to him: "I wish to become a brahmachārī with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir?" He said to him: "of what family are you, my friend?"²⁰⁶ The manner of enquiry shows that it was made in a very indulgent fashion and the uncertainty regarding his parentage was not in actual practice admitted as a bar to the teacher's acceptance of the pupil.

The duties pertaining to his new life are now impressed upon the student: "Put fuel into fire. Cleanse internally with water. Do service. Do not sleep in day-time."²⁰⁷ He was enjoined to move along the Sun's course after Him, symbolising the teaching to follow Nature and her forces as far as possible. He was made to tread on a stone; he was to be 'firm like a stone' and overcome his foes—the temptations within and the slanderers without. The food taken by him was to make him 'strong, long-lived and covered with splendour'. The teacher then touches the chest of the boy with his fingers upwards and repeats the words²⁰⁸: "Thy heart shall dwell in my heart; my mind thou shalt follow with all thy heart; may Brhaspati join thee to me." "To me alone thou shalt adhere. In me thy thoughts shall dwell. Upon me thy veneration shall be bent. When I speak thou shalt be silent." "May I be dear to thee; let us

²⁰¹ Ibid., III. 2, 6, 15.

²⁰² Ibid., XI. 5, 4.

²⁰³ c. f. vidhivat in Maṇḍaka Up. I. 1, 3.

²⁰⁴ Divā mā Sasupthāh (Mantrapāṭha, II, 6, 14).

²⁰⁵ This hypnotism induced into the boy stronger personality.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., XI. 4, 1, 2.

²⁰⁷ VI. 2, 7.

²⁰⁸ Chāndogya Up. IV. 4, 4.

dwelt here in breath and life." After these prayers for concord the teacher bestows on him the blessing. "The bliss in which the Fire, the Sun, the Moon and the Waters go their way, even in that bliss go thou that way. Thou hast become the pupil of Breath. May Indra, Saraswati and the Āświns bestow intelligence on thee." For himself, the teacher prays that he may through his pupil, "become rich in holy lustre." The ceremonial is equally impressive in all the texts; the only point of difference is that instead of styling him "the pupil of life" one text has the reading "the pupil of Kāma."²⁰⁹

In course of time the sacred thread came to be used for the performance of sacrifice.²¹⁰ In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa²¹¹ it is told that the god and the father went to Prājāpati, wearing the 'sacrificial cord': and also in the Kauṣhitaki Upaniṣad²¹² the all-conquered Kauṣhitaki adores the Sun at its rise having put on the 'sacrificial cord'. The spiritual significance of the details of the Upanayana ceremony is thus indicated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa:²¹³ "The teacher lays his right hand on the head of the pupil whereby he becomes pregnant with him²¹⁴ and then in the third night the embryo issues out of the teacher and being taught the Sāvitrī obtains true Brāhmanhood".²¹⁵ "He is like a divine creature born from his teacher's mouth".²¹⁶ Sāmukha Saṃhitā²¹⁷ says "Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are the three twice-born castes: their second birth takes place on the occasion of putting on the girdle of sacred rush. On his second birth symbolised by the wearing of the sacred girdle, the preceptor of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya who imparts the Gāyatrī Mantra, should be regarded as his father, while the Mantra itself should be looked upon as fulfilling the office of his mother. Until the commencement of his study of the Vedas, a Brāhmaṇa continues in the status of a Śūdra; he becomes a

²⁰⁹ Sāmukhyāyana, IV, 4, 2.

²¹⁰ It was called the 'Yajñopabīta' i. e., the sacrificial cord. The followers of Āvesta also uses such a cord at the worship of Fire.

²¹¹ II. 4, 2.

²¹² II. 7.

²¹³ XI. 5. 4.

²¹⁴ Tena garvī bhavati.

²¹⁵ For fuller explanations see Sāyana's commentary.

²¹⁶ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI. 5. 4. 17.

²¹⁷ I. 6-8; c. f. Viṣṇu Saṃhitā XXVIII. 37-40.

twice-born after that". Vyāsa Saṃhitā ²¹⁸ says "Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are called the twice-born. Their first birth takes place when they are delivered of their mother's womb; their second, when they duly accept Gāyatri Mantra from their preceptors". Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā ²¹⁹ says "Their first birth is from their mother and the second from the investiture of the sacred girdle. There (*i. e.* in the second birth) Sāvitrī is the mother and the preceptor is said to be the father. They call the preceptor the father because he gives instructions in the Veda. They quote the following example:—Indeed the virile energy of a man learned in spiritual science, is of two sorts, that which is above the navel and the other such is situated below; through that which is above the navel his offspring is produced when he invests one with the sacred thread and makes him holy. By that which resides below his navel, the children of his body are produced on their mother. Therefore they should never say to a Śrotriya who teaches the Veda 'Thou art destitute of a son'. Hārīt quotes the following verse:—"There is no religious rite for a child of the twice-born before he has been invested with the sacred girdle. His conduct shall be known as equal to that of a Śūdra before his new birth from the Veda. (The above prohibition relates to all rites except those connected with libations of water, the exclamation Swāhā and the rites to departed names)" Viṣṇu Saṃhitā ²²⁰ says "The birth of a child in its mother's womb through the union of its parents, out of carnal desire, is a mere organic existence, which he has in common with the beasts. The birth which his teacher, conversant with the Vedas, effects for him, by uttering the Sāvitrī Mantra is the only true, deathless, decayless existence".

In the older Upaniṣhads we come across the prohibition to communicate a doctrine or ceremony to any one except a son or a pupil adopted by the rite of Upanayanam. According to the Aitareya Āraṇyaka ²²¹ the mystical meaning of the combinations of letters must be "communicated to no one who is not a pupil, who has not been a pupil for a whole year, who does not propose himself to be a teacher". Again the Chāndogya Upaniṣhad ²²² states: "A father may, therefore, tell that doctrine (*i. e.*,

²¹⁸ I. 20-21.

²¹⁹ Ch. II.

²²⁰ XXX. 45-46.

²²¹ III. 2. 6. 9.

²²² III. 2. 5.

the doctrine of Brahman as the sun of the universe) to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil. But no one should tell it to any body else, even if he gave him the whole sea-girt earth, full of treasure". In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣhad* ²²³ we are told that the ceremony of the mixed drink, must be communicated to none but a son or a pupil. Similarly the *Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣhad* ²²⁴ says: "This highest mystery in the Vedānta delivered in a former age should not be given to one whose passions have not been subdued nor to one who is not a son or who is not a pupil". And the *Maitrāyaṇiya Upaniṣhad*: ²²⁵ "Let no man preach this most secret doctrine to any one who is not his son or his pupil". So great was the importance put on this Upanayanam that according to *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* ²²⁶ "to suffer one's self to remain uninitiated beyond the proper age-limit (*vrātyatā*) is one of the *Upapātakas*", and "such a *Vrātya* is to be avoided". ²²⁷ *Manu* ²²⁸ speaks in the same strain: "A *Brahmaṇa* even in time of distress, must not hold any connection with these *Vrātyas*, not duly expiated according to regulation, either by marriage or by Vedic study".

We accordingly find men and gods taking fuel in their hands and submitting to the conditions of pupilage. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣhad* ²²⁹ relates how Indra himself was obliged to live with *Prajāpati* as a pupil for 101 years in order to obtain the perfect instruction. In the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣhad* ²³⁰ *Āruṇi* takes fuel in his hand and becomes a pupil of *Citra Gāṅgyāyani*. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* ²³¹ *Gārga* says to *Ajātasatru*: "Then let me come to you as a pupil". In the *Praśna Upaniṣhad* ²³² *Sukeśas*, *Satyakāma*, *Sauryāyaṇin*, *Kauśalya*, *Vaidarbhi* and *Kabandhin* take fuel in their hands to become pupils of *Pippalāda*.

At the same time the evidence seems to indicate that a formal pupilage was not absolutely binding in the earlier period. Thus in the *Chāndogya* ²³³ it is merely said that "the knowledge which is gained

²²³ VI. 3. 12.

²²⁴ VI. 22.

²²⁵ *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* LVII. 1-2.

²²⁶ V. 3.

²²⁷ I. 1.

²²⁸ VI. 29.

²²⁹ II. 40.

²³⁰ I. 1.

²³¹ IV. 9. 3.

²³² XXXVII. 19.

²³³ II. 1-14.

from a teacher (as opposed to supernatural instruction by beasts, fire, geese or ducks) leads most certainly to the goal". In another passage ²³⁴ the King Aśvapati, instructs the six brāhmaṇas who approach him with fuel in their hands anupaniya *i. e.*, "without first admitting them as his pupil or demanding any preparatory rites". In still another passage ²³⁵ we read: "There lived once Śvetaketu Āruṇeya. To him his father (Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa) said "Śvetaketu, go to school; for there is none belonging to our race, darling, who not having studied the Veda is, as it were, a brāhmaṇa by birth only". From this remark it may reasonably be inferred that at that time entrance upon the life of a brāhmaṇa-student while it was a commendable custom, was not yet universally enjoined upon brāhmaṇas. Again in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka ²³⁶ Yājñabalkya instructs his wife Maitreyi when she was not strictly his pupil; he also teaches King Janaka ²³⁷ when he was not strictly his pupil; he also imparts knowledge on the deepest problems (*e. g.*, in the conversation with Gārgī) ²³⁸ in the presence of a numerous circle of hearers; and only exceptionally, when he desires to explain to Ārtabhāga ²³⁹ the mystery of the soul's transmigration, does he retire with him into privacy.

It is also evident from the passages just cited that it was possible in those days for a man to receive instruction from his father or from other teachers. Śvetaketu did both.²⁴⁰ The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ²⁴¹ shows that the Brāhmaṇa was expected to instruct his own son in both study and spiritual ritual and furnishes an illustration of this in Varuṇa, the teacher of his son Bhṛgu. This fact is also borne out by the evidence of some of the names in the Vamśa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda and the Vamśa or list of teachers of the Śāṃkhyāyana Āraṇyaka.²⁴² It should, however, be noted that these Vamśas and those of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa also show that a father often preferred that his son should have a famous teacher.

²³⁴ Chāndogya Upaniṣhad V. 11. 7.

²³⁵ II. 4.

²³⁶ Bṛhad. Up. III. 8.

²³⁷ Chāndogya Up. V. 3. 1; Bṛhad. Up. VI. 2. 1; Kauś. Up. I. 1; and Chāndogya Up. VI. 1. 1.

²³⁸ I. 6. 2. 4.

²³⁹ Chāndogya Upaniṣhad VI. 1. 1.

²⁴⁰ Bṛhad. Up. IV. 1-2, 3-4.

²⁴¹ Bṛhad. Up. III. 2. 13.

²⁴² XV. 1.

§ 4.—THE AGE TO COMMENCE VEDIC STUDIES.

The age at which such studentship commenced probably varied from time to time. Thus Śvetaketu "began his apprenticeship with a teacher when he was twelve years of age".²⁴³ According to Viṣṇu Purāṇa²⁴⁴ "the period from birth to the fifth year was regarded as the time for play. After which the time for study commenced". The initiation ceremony which marked the beginning of a boy's student-life was fixed by Manu²⁴⁵ at the 8th, the 11th and the 12th year in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya boy respectively. But it might take place between 8 and 16 in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, between 11 and 22 in the case of Kṣatriya and between 12 and 24 in the case of Vaiśya.²⁴⁶ Gautama²⁴⁷ says "The initiation of a Brāhmaṇa boy shall ordinarily take place in his 8th year. It may also be performed in the ninth or fifth year for the fulfilment of some particular wish. The number of years is to be calculated from conception. That initiation is the second birth.....The initiation of a Kṣatriya shall ordinarily take place in the eleventh year after conception, and that of a Vaiśya in the twelfth. Up to the 16th year the time for the Sāvitrī (initiation) of a Brāhmaṇa boy has not passed. Nor (for the initiation) of a Kṣatriya up to the 20th year. And the limit for that of a Vaiśya extends two years beyond the latter term". According to Yājñabalkya²⁴⁸ "the Upanayana of a Brāhmaṇa is performed in the eight year (continuing from the time) of conception, that of a Kṣatriya, in the eleventh or according to the practices of the family". "The period up to the sixteenth, twenty-second and the twenty-fourth is laid down as the time for Upanayanam respectively for the Brahmana, Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya".²⁴⁹ According to Uśanā Saṃhitā²⁵⁰ the investiture of the foremost of the twice-born should take place in the eighth year, either counting from the period of conception or from the date of birth, according to the regulation laid down in one's own family

²⁴³ Chāndogya Up. VI. 1. 2.

²⁴⁴ Part I. XII. 18.

²⁴⁵ Manu II. 38.

²⁴⁶ I. 14.

²⁴⁷ I. 4.

²⁴⁸ II. 96.

²⁴⁹ I. 5-14.

²⁵⁰ Yājñabalkya Saṃhitā I. 37.

code of rites. According to Vyāsa, ²⁵¹ Sāṃkhya, ²⁵² Vasiṣṭha ²⁵³ and Viṣṇu ²⁵⁴ Saṃhitās "the son of a Brāhmaṇa should be invested with the holy thread at the eighth year of his age reckoned from the period of his inter-uterine life. Similarly, the investiture with the holy thread in the case of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya child should be made at the eleventh and twelfth year respectively".

The age fixed was no doubt regarded as the ideal to be aimed at, though we see that considerable latitude was provided for. A young Brāhmaṇa was thus about seven years of age (according to our reckoning) when he entered upon the obligations of studentship and this age is that which has been considered a suitable one by many educationists as then the brain has its physical form fully developed. It was expressly provided in a later verse that a child should not be made to recite Vedic verse before initiation. Why a later age was provided for Kṣatriyas and Vaiyas śis not quite clear. They were of course, not expected to attain to the same proficiency in the Vedic lore as the young Brāhmaṇa, as he alone could perform the sacrificial ritual, and certain portions of the sacred knowledge were reserved for him and their course was, therefore, it may be supposed, not expected to last as long as his. But in this case we should have expected them to have started at the same time and to have left their studentship at an earlier age, especially as they had also to learn their own particular crafts. It seems probable, however, that the difference in age was to emphasise the supposed intellectual superiority of the Brāhmaṇa who was thus ready to begin the study at a younger age than his non-Brāhmaṇa fellows; or the difference was deemed necessary as the young Brāhmaṇa in nine cases out of ten commenced his study at home with his father while his non-Brāhmaṇa fellows were to leave their home and to live with their teacher away from their parents or guardians, for which an older age was quite suitable.

The Upanayana ceremony of a Brāhmaṇa takes place in spring, that of a Kṣatriya in summer and that of a Vaiśya in autumn. ²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ I. 19.

²⁵² II. 6.

²⁵³ Ch. X.

²⁵⁴ XXVII. 15-17.

²⁵⁵ Indische Studien—Weber, Vol. X. p. 22.

It may be noted in this connection that a mystic significance was attached not only to the number of years but also to the particular seasons in which Vedic initiation should take place. Thus according to Āpastamba a boy initiated in the seventh year shows progress in learning, while one who begins in the eighth year lives long, in the ninth gets vigour, in the eleventh strength; and the tenth and the twelfth make for prosperity. Similarly spring in India is the season of peace and plenty, summer is the time when the tropical sun is at the height of its power and glory, and autumn is the season for harvest.

§ 5.—THE PERIOD OF STUDENTSHIP.

The period of studentship varied according to the aptitude of the pupil to learn and to the vow to learn one or more Vedas. Manu ²⁵⁶ says: "In his preceptor's house, a brahmachārin having practised the vow of studying the three Vedas (Atharva being included within the R̥gveda) for thirty-six years or for a half or for a quarter of that period necessary to fully comprehend them; or having studied (all the Vedas or two Vedas or a single Veda, in the proper order of Mantra, Brāhmaṇa etc., without the least deviation from his vow shall enter the order of the householder". According to Yājñabalkya Samhitā ²⁵⁷ "In studying each Veda one should lead the life of a religious student for twelve years or five years (at the lowest)". According to Gautama Samhitā ²⁵⁸ "Each Veda should be studied for 12 years; or until it is thoroughly mastered and understood." According to Baudhāyana ²⁵⁹ the total duration of studentship was twelve years for each Veda, at least one year for each division thereof and twenty-four, thirty-six or forty-eight years in all. Manu ²⁶⁰ says elsewhere: "A twice-born one shall reside for the first quarter of his life in the residence of his preceptor" (i. e., for 25 years, since according to smṛti, a hundred years is the ordained space of human existence). ²⁶¹ In the Mahābhārata ²⁶² we are told: "One should lead a fourth of one's life

²⁵⁶ III. 1-2.

²⁵⁷ I. 36.

²⁵⁸ Ch. II.

²⁵⁹ I. 2, 3.

²⁶⁰ IV. 1.

²⁶¹ Śatāyurvai puruṣaḥ.

²⁶² Śāntiparva, 243rd Adhyāya.

as a brahmachārī". Even after the regular term was over there was no reluctance to continue the study under the teacher. Śvetaketu declares that a further residence of two months every year was advisable, for, by this means he had learnt more than during the period of his formal studentship.²⁶³ Śukrāchārya²⁶⁴ says : "I shall live for one hundred years and enjoy life with wealth"—one should ever earn learning and wealth in this hope for twenty-five years or half or quarter of that period." We need not be surprised at the long period of twelve years which was considered necessary to become acquainted even with one Veda. Max Muller²⁶⁵ quotes from a letter which he received in 1878 from an Indian gentleman giving an account of the system as it was then : "A student of R̥gveda śākhā, if sharp and assiduous, takes about eight years to learn the Daśāgranthas, the ten books which consist of (1) the Saṃhitās or the hymns ; (2) the Brāhmaṇas, the prose treatises on sacrifices etc. ; (3) the Āraṇyakas ; (4) the Gṛhyasūtras, the rules on domestic ceremonies ; (5)—(10) the six Angas, treatises on pronunciation, astronomy, ceremonial, grammar, etymology and metre. A pupil studies every day during the eight years, except on the holidays, the so-called anadhyāya i. e., non-reading days. There being 360 days in a lunar year, the eight years would give him 2880 days. From these, 384 holidays have to be deducted, leaving him 2496 work-days during the eight years. Now the ten books consist, on a rough calculation, of 29,500 ślokas, so that a student of the R̥gveda has to learn about 12 ślokas a day, a śloka consisting of 32 syllables".

But Śvetaketu²⁶⁶ returned home after studying all the Vedas for 12 years with his preceptor. Upakośala Kāmālāyana²⁶⁷ dwelt as a brahmachārī in the house of Satyakāma Jābāla and "tended his fires for twelve years". There also seems to have been longer terms than that of 12 years. Satyakāma Jābāla²⁶⁸ spent a series of years with his preceptor

²⁶³ Āpastamba, I. 4, 13, 19.

²⁶⁴ Śukranītisāra, Ch. III., lines 357-59.

²⁶⁵ Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion—Max Muller, Lec. III., pp. 165-66.

²⁶⁶ Chāndogya Up., VI. 1. 2.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., V. 10. 1.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., IV. 4. 5.

during which "four hundred cows had become a thousand". Studentship for thirty-two years is also mentioned ²⁶⁹ and also for 101 years.²⁷⁰ Megasthenes who came to India in the fourth century B. C. refers to Indian pupils spending thirty-seven years in study. Indeed it was already being recognised that for the cultivation of Vedic studies a long period of studentship was necessary. In the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa²⁷¹ we read: "Bharadvāja lived through three lives in the state of a religious student. Indra approached him when he was lying old and decrepit and said to him, 'Bharadvāja, if I give thee a fourth life, how wilt thou employ it?' 'I will lead the life of a religious student', he replied. He (Indra) showed him three mountain-like objects, as it were unknown. From each of them he took a handful and calling to him, 'Bharadvāja' said: 'These are the three Vedas, The Vedas are infinite. This is what thou hast studied during these three lives. Now there is another thing which thou hast not studied. Come and learn it. This is the universal science.....He who knows this (ya evam Veda) conquers a world as great as he would gain by the triple Vedic science". Indra ²⁷² is said to have lived with Prajāpati as a pupil for no less than 105 years. More often, as might naturally be expected, the realisation of the knowledge of Brahman, with its hard conditions and pre-requisites, required the dedication of a whole life and not merely a part of it. Śvetaketu ²⁷³ coming home after twelve years of studentship "conceited, considering himself well-read and stern" and ignorant of the knowledge of Brahman was probably typical of such students as failed to attain the highest knowledge during the comparatively brief period of their pupilage and were deemed unworthy of that instruction. Upakośala Kāmālāyana ²⁷⁴ was probably another such student who inspite of his twelve years of austere studentship was not deemed worthy of that instruction by his teacher. Hence in some cases students chose to become life-long pupils of their teacher.²⁷⁵ Dakṣa Samhitā²⁷⁶ says: "Two classes of brahmachārin have

²⁶⁹ Ibid., VIII. 7. 3.

²⁷¹ III. 10. 11. 3.

²⁷³ Ibid., V. 1.

²⁷⁵ Brhad. Up., II. 23, 2.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 11. 3.

²⁷² Chāndogya Up., VIII. 2. 3.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., IV. 10.

²⁷⁶ I. 8-9.

been mentioned by the wise in *smṛiti*. The first is *Upakurvaṇaka* (a pupil who wishes to pass on to the state of a householder); the second is *Naiṣṭhika* (one who lives a life of perpetual celibacy and studentship). He who after having adopted the life of a householder, becomes a religious student again,—is neither a *Yatin* nor a *Vānaprasthīn*; he is divorced from all the *āśramas*". According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* ²⁷⁷ the former is a *Gauṇa brahmachārin*, while the latter is a *Mukhya brahmachārin*. According to *Vyāsa Samhitā* ²⁷⁸ "The twice-born one who practises the vow of Vedic study for 36 years is an *Upakurvaṇaka*". Life-long or perpetual students are also mentioned in *Yājñabalkya*, ²⁷⁹ *Uśanā*, ²⁸⁰ *Vyāsa*, ²⁸¹ *Manu*, ²⁸² *Vaśiṣṭha* ²⁸³ and *Viṣṇu* ²⁸⁴ *Samhitās*. Indeed it is reasonable to assume that some of the moral attributes insisted upon as essential pre-requisites of instruction, being as they are, but the preparatory means to the highest end of human life—the attainment of the knowledge of Brahman—belong to the last stages of a disciplined life, as the fruits of a long struggle, rather than to its first stage. They cannot be regarded as the normal initial endowments with which a youthful student starts in his career. The epithets *śānta*, *dānta*, *uparata* and the like are hardly applicable, for instance, to an immature stripling who has had no experience of the struggles and temptations of life and of "the ills that flesh is heir to".

This view is supported by several passages in the *Upaniṣads* in which the conception and scope of *brahmacharya* is widened so as to embrace, not merely the student-period proper, but the entire course of life, regulated by the disciplines of the four successive stages or *āśramas* as the way that leads to the *Ātman* so that the whole of life was looked upon as an education for the life beyond. But many scholars like Deussen, ²⁸⁵ Rhys Davids ²⁸⁶ and Rev. F. E. Keays ²⁸⁷ deny the existence of the

²⁷⁷ *Bālakāṇḍa* 9th Sarga.

²⁷⁹ I. 49.

²⁸¹ I. 40.

²⁸³ Ch. VII.

²⁸⁵ *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*—Deussen, pp. 367, 268.

²⁸⁶ *The Dialogues of the Buddha*—Rhys Davids, Vol I, pp. 212, 213.

²⁸⁷ *Ancient Indian Education*—Keays, p. 28; c. f. p. 25.

²⁷⁸ I. 41.

²⁸⁰ III. 83.

²⁸² II. 243, 249.

²⁸⁴ XXVIII. 43.

successive four āśramas or stages in the age of the Upaniṣads. But Dr. N. N. Law²⁸⁸ has adduced evidences which go to prove that the four āśramas existed as a firmly established institution as early as the time of the two oldest Upaniṣads—the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. Further evidences are available which go to show that the knowledge aimed at in the Upaniṣads implies the application of the whole life, through all its stages. Thus in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad²⁸⁹ the brahmachārin is exhorted after completing his studentship, to become a householder (kutumbē sthitwā) and attain fruition in a life of self-study and self-discipline. In another passage²⁹⁰ the observances of the last three āśramas such as sacrifices, vow of silence, fasting and living an anchorite's life in the forest are recognised as being ultimately but forms of brahmacharya as the underlying principle of life. In the Kena Upaniṣad²⁹¹ asceticism, self-restraint, and sacrifice (tapas, dāma and karman) are specified as the preliminary conditions (pratiṣṭhaḥ) of the Brāhmi Upaniṣad *i.e.*, of the real mystical doctrine which reveals Brahman. In the Kathopaniṣad²⁹² all the Vedas, all the practices of tapas and brahmacharya are described as means by which the One (Brahman) is to be sought as the final aim.

That the acquisition of knowledge was not always confined to the first period of life is also evident from a few concrete examples. Śvetaketu Āruṇeya,²⁹³ on reporting to his father Gautama, the imperfect character of the instruction he received from him as proved by his inability to answer some questions put to him by the king (rājanya) Pravahana Jaivāli was thus told by his father: "You know me, child, that whatever I know, I told you. But come, we shall go thither and dwell there as students". Gautama then goes to the king who asks him "Gautama, do you wish (for instruction from me) in the proper way?" Gautama replied: "I come to you as a pupil". There are other examples which point to temporary connections between teachers and elderly pupils or

²⁸⁸ Studies in Indian History and Culture—N. N. Law, pp. 1-20.

²⁸⁹ VIII, 15.

²⁹⁰ Chāndogya Up., VIII, 5.

²⁹¹ IV, 8.

²⁹² II, 15.

²⁹³ Bṛhad. Up., VI, 2, 1-7; also Chāndogya Up., V, 3.

householders, for the imparting of the knowledge of some special doctrines and truths. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*²⁹⁴ Yājñabalkya instructs Maitreyi, Janaka, Gārgi and Ārtaabhāga. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*²⁹⁵ "five great householders and five great theologians"—Prāchinasāla Aupamanyava, Satyayajña Pauluṣi Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śākarākṣya and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi—first go for some special instruction to Uddālaka Āruṇi. The latter diffident as to the fullness of his knowledge of the subject went with them to Aśwapati Kaikeya as the best teacher for the purpose. In the *Muṇḍaka*²⁹⁶ Upaniṣad Saunaka who is described as great householder (*Mahāsālaḥ*) approaches Angīras for instruction. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*²⁹⁷ Nārada approaches Sanatkumāra after completing the period of ordinary studentship during which he has studied a variety of subjects, and says: "I, sir, have learnt all the mantras, but do not yet know what ātman is". In another passage²⁹⁸ Indra grows old in learning at the house of his preceptor. In the *Mahābhārata*²⁹⁹ we are told of Kacha, son of Bṛhaspati, who approached Śukra and agreed to remain with him as a student for 1,000 years.

§ 6. CONDITIONS AND DUTIES OF STUDENTSHIP.

We shall now consider the conditions and duties of studentship.

(a) *Residence in the teacher's house*—The first condition was that the student should live in the house of his teacher. Even the *Atharvaveda*³⁰⁰ refers to this condition in the phrase "if we have dwelt in studentship". It is also referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*³⁰¹ as also in the *Aitareya*³⁰² and *Tattiriya*³⁰³ Brāhmaṇas. The *Chāndogya*

²⁹⁴ *Bṛhad. Up.*, II. 4; IV. 1-2, 3-4; III 2, 13.

²⁹⁵ V. II.

²⁹⁷ VII. 1.

²⁹⁹ *Ādiparva*, 76th *Adhyāya*.

³⁰⁰ *Brahmacharya yadūṣima*, VII. 109. 7.

³⁰² In the story of a boy whose brothers divided the paternal property among themselves, while he lived with his teacher studying the Vedas, *brahmacharyam brahmataṁ*, *Ait. Br.*, V. 14.

³⁰³ *Yo bo devāścharatī brahmacharyam*, *Taitt. Br.*, III. 7. 63.

²⁹⁶ I. 1. 3.

²⁹⁸ *Chāndogya Up.*, VIII. 7-11.

³⁰¹ XI. 3. 3. 2.

Upaniṣad applies to the student the epithets "achārya-kula-vāsin" ³⁰⁴ and "ante-vāsin".³⁰⁵ The latter epithet is also used in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka ³⁰⁶ and Taittiriya ³⁰⁷ Upaniṣads. Residence in the house of the preceptor is referred to also in Manu, ³⁰⁸ Hārīt, ³⁰⁹ Vyāsa, ³¹⁰ Viṣṇu³¹¹ and Vasiṣṭha³¹² Saṃhitās. Manu ³¹³ says : "Let not the rising or setting sun find the brahmachārin within the precincts of a village". Thus the student must be in his preceptor's house before the sun sets and should not quit it for a village before the sun rises in the morning. While on duty in his preceptor's house the brahmachārin was free from all fear of injury or death. "The Brahmā delivered the creatures over to Death, the brahmachārin alone He did not deliver over to him". ³¹⁴

In this connection we shall do well to bear in mind that the modern educators recognise two factors in education: (1) the internal and (2) the external. The first includes all the congenital tendencies and innate capacities of the child. The second is the child's environment. We have seen that early Hindu teachers by developing the doctrine of Adhikāra took into consideration the tastes and innate capacities or potentialities of the child. They also clearly saw the far-reaching effect of the child's environment on his education. Hence as soon as the mind began to develop the child was translated from his home to an atmosphere where he could breathe freely moral health and strength and which was, therefore, most favourable to the development of a spiritual life which concerned the Hindus more than anything else. Indeed the cheerfulness and calmness of the school environment, the peace that reigned there and the orderly and pure life lived by every one there, were stimulating to a healthy and pure life in the student. In fact, the principle underlying the ancient Brāhmanic educational system is the same that urges the modern educators to advocate the system of Residential Universities. But as the student lived in the house of his preceptor as one of his family and breathed there the atmosphere of his own home, the ancient Hindu

³⁰⁴ II. 23. 2.

³⁰⁵ III. 11. 5 ; IV. 10. 1.

³⁰⁶ VI. 3. 7.

³⁰⁷ I. 3. 3 ; II. 1.

³⁰⁸ II. 175.

³⁰⁹ III. 1.

³¹⁰ I. 23.

³¹¹ XXVIII. 1.

³¹² Ch. VII.

³¹³ II. 219.

³¹⁴ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XI. 3. 3.

residential system was free from most of the defects and artificialities which take from the value of the modern Boarding Schools and Residential Universities. In this respect the Hindu residential system was also superior to the Buddhist residential system in the monasteries. This ancient Hindu system still survives in our tols.

But residence with the teacher was not a compulsory condition of studentship in all educational institutions. Day-scholars were also admitted to instruction. We read of Prince Junha of Benares setting up independent house for himself from which he attended the College at Taxila (Jāt. IV. 96). We read of 'a country Brahmin' who finishing his studies in the three Vedas and the eighteen sciences under a famous teacher in Benares, stopped on there to look after his estate, married and become a regular house-holder. And yet he was allowed to continue his studies as an external student. He could however come but "two or three times every day to listen to his master's teachings" owing to the obstructions of his mischievous wife who always feigned sickness whenever he wanted to get away to the school. A similar case is that of 'a young Brahmin from a foreign land' who while studying as one of the 50 pupils of a famous teacher in Benares, "fell in love with a woman and made her his wife. Though he continued to live on in Benares he failed two or three times in his attendance on the master". Sometimes he was so worried and harassed by his unmanageable wife that he absented himself altogether from waiting on the master. "Some seven or eight days later he renewed his attendances" when his master gave him necessary instruction after which he "paid no heed to his wife's caprices", while his wife also "ceased from that time forward from her naughtiness. There is another instance of a student being handicapped in his studies by the wicked ways of his wife. (Jāt. I. 463 ; I. 300 ; Ibid., 301-302).

(b) *Begging alms.*—It was the usual rule for the brahmachārin to go about *begging for his teacher*. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad³¹⁵ while the householders Saunaka Kāpeya and Abhipratarin Kākṣaseni were being waited on at their meal a religious student begged of them.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³¹⁶ also refers to the brahmachārin begging for alms as well as the Atharvaveda.³¹⁷ It is also clear from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³¹⁸ that begging was prescribed for the student to produce in him a proper spirit of humility: "Having made himself poor, as it were, and become devoid of shame he begs alms". Āpastamba,³¹⁹ Manu,³²⁰ Uśanā,³²¹ Sambarta,³²² Vyāsa,³²³ Sāṃkhya,³²⁴ Vasiṣṭha³²⁵ Viṣṇu³²⁶ Hārīt³²⁷ and Yājñabalkya³²⁸ Saṃhitās also refer to begging alms as the duty of the student. "If in health, a brahmachārin fails to beg alms for seven days in succession, he must do the penance of an Avakirni (of broken vow)".³²⁹ In the Middle Ages in Europe we read of some students in the Universities subsisting by means of begging; but India far surpassed that by making it a rule for all students. A brāhmaṇa student shall beg alms, pronouncing the term 'bhabat' in the first part, a kṣatriya (should use the term 'bhabat') in the middle and a vaiśya (should use the term 'bhabat') in the end (of his begging formulæ).³³⁰

He shall beg alms first of his own mother or sister or mother's sister or of any other woman who might not insult him with a refusal.³³¹ He should beg alms from those who are given to Vedic study, the celebration of sacrifices and are intent on the performance of the duties of their respective castes and orders.³³² He shall not beg alms of his preceptor's family nor of his cognates and relations.³³³ In the absence of any other householder, he shall beg alms, leaving each preceeding one of these persons.³³⁴ In the absence of (fit persons of whom the Vedas give the brahmachārin the sanction to beg alms) let him, silent and self-controlled,

³¹⁶ XI. 3. 3. 5; X. 6. 5. 9.

³¹⁷ VI. 133. 3.

³¹⁸ XI. 3. 3. 5. ³¹⁹ I. 1.

³²⁰ II. 41; II. 108; II. 192; II. 190.

³²¹ I. 5. ³²² I. 11.

³²³ I. 30.

³²⁴ III. 8. ³²⁵ Ch. VII.

³²⁶ XXVIII. 10.

³²⁷ III. 7. ³²⁸ I. 29.

³²⁹ Manu II. 187.

³³⁰ Manu, II. 49; Yājñabalkya, I. 30; Sāṃkhya, II. 12; Vasiṣṭha, Ch. X; Uśanā I. 52;

Gautama Ch. II.

³³¹ Manu II. 50; Uśanā I. 53.

³³² Manu, II. 183; Uśanā, I. 55.

³³³ Manu, II. 184; Gautama, Ch. II; Viṣṇu. XXVIII. 9.

³³⁴ Manu, II. 184; Uśanā, I. 56; Gautama, Ch. II.

beg alms of the whole village (i. e., of all the four castes) without repeating the proper formulæ of begging.³³⁵ Uśanā Samhitā³³⁶ says: "It is said that one may receive alms from all of his caste or from all castes but he should shun the outcastes". Sāṃkha³³⁷ and Yājñabalkya³³⁸ Samhitās, however, lay down that "a brahmachārin should beg alms of brāhmaṇas alone".

He should collect daily food (which a brahmachārin may take) except salt and what is stale.³³⁹ "Even while in distress, the acceptance of any wealth except the alms is prohibited."³⁴⁰

All articles obtained by begging should be undecitfully made over to the preceptor.³⁴¹ In the event of the preceptor being absent from his house, articles of fare obtained by begging, should be made over to his wife or son or to a senior fellow-student.³⁴²

(c) *Tending the sacred fires*.—Another of his duties was to tend the sacred fires. Upakośala tended the sacred fires for twelve years and yet his teacher does not allow him to return home, but goes away on a journey without having taught him.³⁴³ Looking after the sacrificial fires is also mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.³⁴⁴ Elsewhere in the same work³⁴⁵ the duty of the brahmachārin is stated to be to "put on fuel," the spiritual significance of which is also explained, viz., "to enkindle the mind with fire, with holy lustre." Manu,³⁴⁶ Yājñabalkya,³⁴⁷ Hārīt,³⁴⁸ Gautama,³⁴⁹ Vyāsa³⁵⁰ and Sāṃkhyā³⁵¹ Samhitās also enjoin the student to tend the sacred fire. The Mahābhārata³⁵² also enjoins the student to tend the sacred fire. Manu³⁵³ says, "In health, if a brahmachārin fails to kindle the sacrificial fire with the fuel of samidh twigs for seven days in succession he must do the penance of an Avakirni (of broken vow)."

³³⁵ Manu, II. 184; Uśanā, I. 57.

³³⁷ III. 8.

³³⁹ Uśanā, III. 19.

³⁴¹ Manu, II. 51; Gautama, Ch. II.; Uśanā, I. 51; Vasiṣṭha, Ch. VII.

³⁴² Gautama, Ch. II.

³⁴⁴ XI. 3. 3. 4.

³⁴⁶ II. 108; II. 176; II. 186.

³⁴⁸ Ch. II.

³⁵² Śāntiparva, 191st Adhyāya.

³³⁶ I. 54.

³³⁸ I. 29.

³⁴⁰ Vyāsa Samhitā, I. 32.

³⁴³ Chāndogya Up., IV. 10. 1-2.

³⁴⁵ XI. 5. 4. 5.

³⁴⁹ III. 2.

³⁵¹ III. 10.

³⁵³ II. 187.

(d) *Tending the Teachers' House.*—Tending the house of the teacher was also one of the duties. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³⁵⁴ we read "wherefore the students guard their teacher, his house and the cattle." In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad³⁵⁵ Satyakāma is sent away with the teacher's cattle into a distant country where he remains for a series of years during which four hundred cows had become a thousand. The duty of guarding the teacher's cattle and grazing them in the pastures is also referred to in the Sāṃkhāyana Āraṇyaka.³⁵⁶ In the Aitareya Āraṇyaka³⁵⁷ Tārūksya guards his teacher's cows for a whole year. The Hārīt Saṃhitā³⁵⁸ also asks the student to offer unto his preceptor pitcherfuls of water and morsels of grass for his cow. According to Uśanā Saṃhitā³⁵⁹ "he should daily bring pitcherfuls of water, kuśagrass, flowers and sacrificial fuels." According to Manu³⁶⁰ "the brahmachārin shall fetch pitcherfuls of water, flowers, cow-dung, clay and kuśa grass as much as his preceptor might require every day." In the Mahābhārata³⁶¹ we find that Āruṇi is working on the field of his teacher and Upamanyu is grazing the cattle of his teacher. In the same work³⁶² we find that Kacha is grazing the cattle of his teacher Śukra and bringing flowers for his teacher's daughter Devayoni.

(e) *Serving the teacher by word, mind and deed.*—According to Manu³⁶³ the brahmachārin should "do what is conducive to the good of his preceptor each day." As by digging (the earth) with a digging instrument one gets water, so by faithfully serving him, a pupil acquires (all) the knowledge which is contained in the guru.³⁶⁴ According to Yājñabalkya Saṃhitā³⁶⁵ "the service of the preceptor leads one to immortality." "He should secure the preceptor's well-being by his body and mind, words and deeds."³⁶⁶

³⁵⁴ III. 6. 2. 15.

³⁵⁵ IV. 4. 5.

³⁵⁶ VII. 19.

³⁵⁷ III. 1. 6. 3-4.

³⁵⁸ III. 2.

³⁵⁹ III. 8 ; c. f. III. 19.

³⁶⁰ II. 182.

³⁶¹ Ādiparva, 3rd Adhyāya.

³⁶² Ādiparva, 76th Adhyāya.

³⁶³ II. 108.

³⁶⁴ Manu II. 218.

³⁶⁵ III. 156 ; c. f. Kāmandakiya Nītiśāra, 1st sarga śls. 66-67.

³⁶⁶ Yājñabalkya Saṃhitā, I. 27 ; Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva, 43rd Adhyāya.

Hārīt³⁶⁷ also asks the student to do good unto his preceptor's family by thought, word and deed. According to Samvarta Saṃhitā³⁶⁸ "Being invested with the sacred thread, a vipra should always do good unto his preceptor." According to Vyāsa Saṃhitā³⁶⁹ "He should devote himself to the good of his teacher." According to Sāṃkha Saṃhitā³⁷⁰ "Humble in spirit and without arrogance, he should do only what is good and beneficial to his preceptor.....and carry out his behests." According to Viṣṇu Saṃhitā³⁷¹ he shall do what is pleasant and beneficial to his preceptor. According to the Jaina sacred texts³⁷² the pupil should avoid doing acts unpleasant and disrespectful to his teacher. According to Gautama Saṃhitā³⁷³ "of all the stages of life that of the brahmachārin entails the perpetual service of one's preceptor." Together with and after these acts of service, "in the time remaining over from work for the teacher" (Guroḥ karmātīśeṣe bā) the pupil should prosecute his studies.³⁷⁴

§ 7. REGULATIONS GOVERNING STUDENT-LIFE.

Let us now consider the various regulations governing the life of the student in the teacher's house.

(a) *Early rising*.—Discipline was held of much greater value than instruction and the most important work of the educator was to help the student to get into an orderly routine of life. One such discipline consisted in early rising. Thus we are told "he should duly perform the Sandhyā adoration in the morning when the stars are still visible."³⁷⁵ "A brahmachārin having quitted his bed early in the morning and having bathed and performed the Homa should accost self-controlled his preceptor."³⁷⁶ "If the sun rises, seeing him asleep, out of wilful laziness let him mutter the Gāyatrī mantra and fast for a whole day."³⁷⁷ "Indeed a sleeping brahmachārin roused from his sleep by the sun, if he fails to

³⁶⁷ III. 1.

³⁶⁸ I. 5.

³⁶⁹ I. 36.

³⁷⁰ III. 9-10.

³⁷¹ XXVIII. 7.

³⁷² Pṛthivī Ithihāsa, Part VI., p. 153 ; c. f. Ibid., p. 81.

³⁷³ Ch. III.

³⁷⁴ Chāndogya Up., VII. 15.

³⁷⁵ Sambarta Saṃhitā, I. 6.

³⁷⁶ Sāṃkhya Saṃhitā, III. 2.

³⁷⁷ Manu II. 220 ; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 53.

do this penance is associated with a great sin."³⁷⁸ Kālidās also emphasises the habit of the student in getting up in the small hours of the morning. Dilīpa was awakened in the morning by the Vedic chant of the young students in the hermitage. Kumudbatī the Nāga princess got from Kākutsa (*i. e.*, Kuśa) a son named Atithi just as the intellect acquires clearness form the last quarter of the night.³⁷⁹

In Jātaka (I. 436) we read of a school of for brāhmaṇa students in Benares who "had a cock that crowed betimes and roused them to their studies." When, the trained cock died, a second cock was obtained which "had been bred in a cemetery and had thus no knowledge of times and seasons and used to crow casually, at midnight, the young brāhmaṇs fell to their studies, so that by dawn they were tired out and could not for sleepiness keep their attention on the subject already learnt (*gahit atthanampi*); and when he fell a-crowing in broad day they did not get a chance of quiet for repeating their lessons. And as it was the cock's crowing at midnight and by day which had brought their studies to a standstill, they took the bird and wrung its neck". We may note in passing that this passage also proves that there was time for the private study of the students which they spent on repeating new lessons and revising old ones.

(b) *Prayer*.—Another discipline consisted in the worship of the Sun as the universal spirit. We have numerous references in the Vedas³⁸⁰ to the three worships in the day—morning, midday and evening—in the Sāphitā as well as in the Brāhmaṇa portion. In the Āraṇyaka³⁸¹ we have not merely the worship of the Savitr, but clear reference to twilight worship (*sandhyā*). Manu says "Both in the morning and in the evening, let the student pure and self-controlled, mutter the Gāyatrī and pray, sitting in a holy place."³⁸² The Mahābhārata³⁸³ also enjoins the student to pray to the Sun in the morning and to Agni in the evening. The Viṣṇu,³⁸⁴ Sambarta³⁸⁵ and Uśanā³⁸⁶ sāphitās also enjoin the

³⁷⁸ Manu II. 221.

³⁸⁰ Rgveda, III. 56, 6.

³⁸² Manu II. 222.

³⁸⁴ XXVIII. 2.

³⁷⁹ Raghuvamśam, Canto XVII. 1.

³⁸¹ Tait. Āraṇ., II. 1.

³⁸³ Śāntiparva, 191st Adhyāya.

³⁸⁶ I. 15.

³⁸⁵ I. 6.

student to perform the two rites of sandhyā every day. "Standing he shall perform the morning sandhyā and the evening sandhyā seated."³⁸⁷ According to Gautama Saṃhitā³⁸⁸ "one should perform the daily sandhyās outside one's room. The rite of morning sandhyā should be performed standing; while that of the evening sandhyā should be performed in perfect silence, till the appearance of the stars and planets in the heavens."

Prof. James in his "Talks to Teacher on Psychology" speaks very highly of the practice of *morning and evening prayers* among the Hindu students. Not only does it help to train up the boy in right moral conduct but also to stimulate his preconscious thought. A modern writer³⁸⁹ has said that as the child is incapable of forming abstract religious conceptions, the training during this period "should be of the heart rather than of the head and perhaps even more of the hand, *i.e.*, a training in doing, or in other words, taking part in religious forms." So in initiating the child early to religious forms and practices the Hindu system met the demands of the nature of the child most effectively. Indeed the main purpose of these worships and the prayers used in them was to remind the individual that his success in life and spiritual welfare depended on his energies running into line with the principles of the life universal. This is illustrated by the Gāyatri hymn with which handfuls of water are to be offered to the Sun.³⁹⁰ 'We meditate on that adorable effulgence of the lord Savitr from whom we derive the stimulus for our mental strivings and our activities.' The hymn is so worded that it could be applied as motive power to the student of whatever grade, whether he worships a personal god or the universal spirit. The object of these hymns was to establish a habit of righteousness, apart from intellectual conviction, by working on the sub-conscious region of the mind.

(c) *Bath*.—To relieve nervous tension in a tropical country like India and to obtain physical purity which was intimately connected

³⁸⁷ Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, XXVIII, 3.

³⁸⁸ Ch. II.

³⁸⁹ Fundamentals of Child Study—Kirkpatrick.

³⁹⁰ Tait. Āraṇ., II. 1.

with mental purity the student was enjoined to take regular baths every day. According to Manu³⁹¹ the (religious) student should take his bath every day; according to Viṣṇu Saṃhitā³⁹² twice a day, while according to Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā³⁹³ and Kāmandakiya Nītisāra³⁹⁴ thrice a day. "He who takes his food without taking his bath, should recite the Gāyatri one hundred and eight times."³⁹⁵ "He should never take such a bath as would remove the filth of his body."³⁹⁶ "He must not remove the dirt in his body except in a calamity and must not sport in water."³⁹⁷ The idea was that the student should not be over-zealous in bathing so as to beautify his person. Hence Uśanā Saṃhitā³⁹⁸ lays down that "he should daily wash his limbs and paste them with earth."

The hymns to the waters repeated by him at his bath not only remind him of the universal water which flow in all the streams from the Ganges onwards, but also of his sins and transgressions, committed in eating forbidden food (fed by the waters) which might excite wrong passions, in drinking or in accepting things from greed. He might bathe in a mountain ravine, but he saw in it the mighty Ganges or the winding Jamunā, or even the confluence of the seven streams familiar to him from the Vedic age onwards.³⁹⁹ The waters that washed him reminded him of the vast ocean and of the herbs which grew near the milky brine when the Moon shed her silver radiance on it and cured many a benumbed limb and aching heart. Everywhere he learnt to identify his interests with those of Nature's eternal forces.

(d) *Dress*.—Then come the regulations about the dress of the student. "The brahmachārins (of the three social orders) shall respectively wear hempen, silken and woolen cloths."⁴⁰⁰ "A twice-born one should put on an excellent white piece of cotton or silk cloth without hole but quite different from the one used before."⁴⁰¹

³⁹¹ II. 176.

³⁹² XXXVIII. 9.

³⁹³ Ch. VII.

³⁹⁴ 2nd Sarga, sl. 22.

³⁹⁵ Sambarta Saṃhitā, I. 29.

³⁹⁶ Uśanā Saṃhitā, III. 22.

³⁹⁷ Kātyāyana Saṃhitā, XXV. 15.

³⁹⁸ III. 8.

³⁹⁹ Imam me Gange Jamune, etc.

⁴⁰⁰ Manu, II. 41.

⁴⁰¹ Uśanā, I. 7.

According to *Vaśiṣṭha*⁴⁰² "the wearing cloth of a brāhmaṇa shall be white (and) spotless; that of a kṣatriya dyed with madder; that of a vaiśya dyed with turmeric or made of raw silk. The undyed cotton cloth (is) for all (religious students)".

"They shall respectively put on upper sheets (uttariya) respectively made of the skins of the antelope, ruru (a species of deer) and goat."⁴⁰³ "For the twice-born one, the sacred skin of a black antelope has been described as the cloth for covering the upper part of the body. In its absence, the skin of a ruru deer is allowed to be used."⁴⁰⁴ *Sāṃkhya*⁴⁰⁵ and *Viṣṇu*⁴⁰⁶ *Samhitās* prescribe a deer-skin, a tiger-skin and a goat's skin for the first three orders respectively. *Vaśiṣṭha*⁴⁰⁷ prescribes the skin of a black antelope, the skin of a spotted deer, cow-skin or he-goat's skin respectively. From the hymns used at the initiation ceremony we learn that the antelope skin kept him from forgetting what he had learnt—apparently a reference to its power of retaining the human force which we now call electricity.

"The girdle of a brāhmaṇa (student) shall be made of three strings of Munjā grass⁴⁰⁸ evenly and smoothly tied, that of a kṣatriya shall be made of murbā fibre⁴⁰⁹ tied in the shape of a bow-string and that of a vaiśya shall be made of hemp⁴¹⁰ twists⁴¹¹—symbolical of the professions to be followed in each case in the next stage of life. "In the absence of munjā grass, etc., the girdles (of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas) shall be made respectively of the fibres of kuśa,⁴¹² ashwantaka and valvaja, consisting of one, three or five ties (according to the family custom), each tie being tied with three strings of such fibre-thread."⁴¹³

"One should always wear the sacred thread."⁴¹⁴ "The holy thread of a brāhmaṇa shall be made of three strings of cotton thread,

⁴⁰² Ch. X.

⁴⁰³ II. 9.

⁴⁰⁴ *Uśanā*, I. 13; *Viṣṇu*, XXVII. 18.

⁴¹⁰ *Viṣṇu*, XXVII. 18 prescribes Valvaja.

⁴¹² *Uśanā*, I. 13.

⁴⁰⁵ *Mānu*, II. 41.

⁴⁰⁶ XXVII. 20.

⁴¹³ *Mānu*, II. 43.

⁴⁰⁴ *Uśanā*, I. 8.

⁴⁰⁷ Ch. X.

⁴⁰⁹ *Viṣṇu*, XXVII. 18.

⁴¹¹ *Mānu*, II. 42.

⁴¹⁴ *Uśanā*, I. 9.

that of a kṣatriya with three strings of hempen thread and that of a vaiśya with three strings of woolen thread, suspended from the upper part of the body."⁴¹⁵ The sacred thread should extend from the left shoulder to the bottom of the right arm.⁴¹⁶

The student was invested with a staff 'for the sake of a long life of holiness, and of holy lustre'. It symbolised his entering a long sacrificial period. "The staff was to be made of vilva or palāśa wood⁴¹⁷ for a brāhmaṇa student, symbolical of sacredness and purity; of vata or the catechu wood⁴¹⁸ for the kṣatriya, whose widespreading arms giving shade and shelter represented his functions; and in the case of the vaiśya of the udumvara,⁴¹⁹ reminding one of strength and increase".⁴²⁰ According to Sāṃkhya Saṃhitā⁴²¹ the sacred rods of these three orders should be respectively made of parṇa, pippala and vilva wood. Viṣṇu⁴²² however allows all the twice-born to use a staff made of palāśa, khadir and udumvara if they like. The staff of a brāhmaṇa shall be made of a height so as to reach to the hair of his head, that of a kṣatriya shall be of a height so as to reach his forehead, while that of a vaiśya shall be of a height so as to reach the tip of his nose.⁴²³ According to Sāṃkhya Saṃhitā⁴²⁴ the staff should reach respectively their hair, ears and forehead in height. According the Sāṃkhya Saṃhitā⁴²⁵ the staff should be whole-skinned,⁴²⁶ unbent⁴²⁷ and unburnt. According to Manu⁴²⁸ besides this, it should be beautiful to look at, not eaten into by worms and uncreative of terror to any person.

The shaving of the head, except the tuft of hair on the crown, should be done by a brahmachārin.⁴²⁹ According to Viṣṇu⁴³⁰ and Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā⁴³¹ a religious student shall wear either matted locks or a tuft of hair on the crown of his head. "A twice-born one should always tie up the tuft of hair on his crown."⁴³²

⁴¹⁵ Manu II. 44; Viṣṇu XXVII. 19; Uśanā I. 6.

⁴¹⁶ Uśanā I. 9.

⁴¹⁷ Vasiṣṭha X; Viṣṇu XXVII. 21.

⁴¹⁸ Viṣṇu XXVII. 21 prescribes khadir wood, while Vasiṣṭha X. prescribes nyagrodha wood.

⁴¹⁹ Vasiṣṭha X; Viṣṇu XXVII. 21.

⁴²⁰ Manu II. 45; Uśanā I. 14.

⁴²¹ II. 10. ⁴²² XXVII. 23.

⁴²³ Manu II. 46; Viṣṇu XXVII. 22.

⁴²⁴ II. 10. ⁴²⁵ II. 11.

⁴²⁶ Viṣṇu XXVII. 24.

⁴²⁷ Ibid. ⁴²⁸ II. 47.

⁴²⁹ Kātyāyana Saṃhitā XXV. 15.

⁴³⁰ XXVIII. 41. ⁴³¹ Ch. VII.

⁴³² Uśanā I. 7.

According to Manu⁴³³ and Viṣṇu⁴³⁴ Saphitās a girdle, a staff, a holy thread or a kamaṇḍalu (ewer) broken or spoiled by use, should be thrown into water, and one should take a new one, consecrated with the mantra.

He should not be covered with too much clothing;⁴³⁵ he should renounce personal decorations.⁴³⁶ He should not put on colour;⁴³⁷ he should not anoint his eyes;⁴³⁸ he should not oil his body;⁴³⁹ he should not rub his body;⁴⁴⁰ he should not shave;⁴⁴¹ he should not see his face in a mirror;⁴⁴² he should not use garlands of flowers.⁴⁴³ He should forswear the use of scents;⁴⁴⁴ he should not use sandal paste;⁴⁴⁵ he should not wear shoes;⁴⁴⁶ He should not use umbrellas;⁴⁴⁷ he should not rub his teeth;⁴⁴⁸ he should not have clean finger, nails and teeth.⁴⁵⁰ He should avoid clean teeth;⁴⁵⁰ but this does not prove that the student had dirty teeth—only personal beauty is to be avoided, for, we are told⁴⁵¹ that he should use a piece of wood for cleansing the teeth. But according to Hārīt⁴⁵² the student should not rub his teeth with wood after having rinsed his mouth at the time of bathing. The prohibition in Gautama⁴⁵³ of not cleansing the teeth in the presence of the preceptor also shows that the students did not possess dirty teeth.

(e) *Food*.—Then come the regulations about the food of the student. The student should daily support himself with a portion of the food acquired by begging.⁴⁵⁴ He should, however, take his food

⁴³³ II. 61.⁴³⁴ XXVII. 29.⁴³⁵ Aitareya Āraṇyaka V.⁴³⁶ Vyāsa Saphitā I. 28.⁴³⁷ Aitareya Āraṇyaka V. Manu II. 178.⁴³⁸ Aitareya Āraṇyaka V; Manu II. 178; Yājñalkya I. 33; Uśanā III. 16; Vyāsa I. 28; Sāṃkhya III. 12; Vaśiṣṭha VII; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.⁴³⁹ Aitareya Āraṇyaka V; Uśanā III. 16; Vaśiṣṭha VII.⁴⁴⁰ Aitareya Āraṇyaka V.⁴⁴¹ Aitareya Āraṇyaka V.⁴⁴² Uśanā III. 20; Vyāsa I. 28.⁴⁴³ Aitareya Āraṇyaka V; Manu II. 177; Hārīt III. 8; Uśanā III. 16; Vyāsa I. 29. Sambarta I. 5; Gautama II.⁴⁴⁴ Manu II. 177; Hārīt III. 8; Vyāsa I. 29; Sambarta I. 5; Gautama II.⁴⁴⁵ Vyāsa I. 29.⁴⁴⁶ Manu II. 178; Hārīt III. 8; Uśanā III. 16; Gautama II.⁴⁴⁷ Manu II. 178; Hārīt III. 8; Uśanā III. 17; Gautama II.⁴⁴⁸ Uśanā III. 20.⁴⁴⁹ Taitt. Brāh. III.⁴⁵⁰ Vaśiṣṭha VII.⁴⁵¹ Hārīt III. 6.⁴⁵² III. 7.⁴⁵³ Ch. II.⁴⁵⁴ Hārīt I. 59.

with the previous permission of his preceptor.⁴⁵⁵ "He should daily adore his food and take it without speaking ill of it; on seeing it he should be delighted and happy and should welcome it with laudation.⁴⁵⁶ For says Manu ⁴⁵⁷ "Food daily worshipped, gives strength and vitality. Unworshipped food destroys both the worlds of the partaker."

The prayer at his meal is as follows : ' Oh Savita, lord and first cause of production, I see before me the visible effects of thy work (satyam) amidst the mystery of the things unseen (ṛtyam). Oh water, thou art the symbol of the mystery of eternity, being at the bottom of all creation and the cover of all, encompassing all in thy infinite expanse. I take this food for the upkeep of the vital airs in the body, with a drop of moistening water to prepare the alimentary system for its work. May the food I take be an offering to universal Brahman so that I may be fed with the waters of everlasting life'. The food, says another hymn, is of good. In the highest sense of the word, everything in this world is either food or the feeder. Water is the food. Fire the feeder; life's duration is the food for the feeder, this body. Earth is the food for the feeder, space (ākāśa).⁴⁵⁸ The food and the feeder depend on each other. He who realises this becomes one with food as well as with the feeder; he feeds on all things that are and is free. ⁴⁵⁹

Having drawn a circular figure first, he should place the vessel on it and eat till the recitation of the formulæ amṛtopidhan, etc., at the end of his meal.⁴⁶⁰

He should eat his meal sitting with his face towards the east.⁴⁶¹ He who eats his meal with his face towards the east acquires longevity; by taking his meal with his face towards the south a person acquires fame. He who takes his meal with his face turned towards the west acquires opulence; by eating with his face turned

⁴⁵⁵ Hārīt I. 58; Yājñabalkya I. 31; Vyāsa I. 31; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 10; Sāṅkhya III. 8; Gautama II; Vasiṣṭha VII.

⁴⁵⁶ Hārīt I. 60; Manu II. 54; Yājñabalkya I. 31.

⁴⁵⁷ II. 55.

⁴⁵⁸ Taitt. Up., III. 7-9.

⁴⁵⁹ Taitt. Up.,—Ahamannam ahamannādeh...kāmānti kāmārūpyanusaucharan.....aham viśvān bhūvanamabhyabhavām.

⁴⁶⁰ Hārīt I. 64.

⁴⁶¹ Manu II. 51; Sāṅkhya III. 8; Sambarta I. 11.

towards the south, he acquires truthfulness." ⁴⁶² *Hārīt Saṃhitā* ⁴⁶³ lays down that "he should daily take his meal with his face directed towards the east or the south. But he should never eat facing the north."

He should take his meals abstaining from speech. ⁴⁶⁴

Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā ⁴⁶⁵ says: "Eight mouthfuls form the meal of an ascetic, sixteen that of a hermit, thirty-two that of a householder and an unlimited quantity that of a religious student." "An ox, a student and a brahmana who has kindled the sacred fire, can do their work if they eat; without eating (much), they cannot do it." ⁴⁶⁶ *Vyāsā Saṃhitā* ⁴⁶⁷ lays down: "A single meal, which is not incompatible with the spirit of brahmacharya is what is enjoined to be taken by the student, every day". *Manu* ⁴⁶⁸ prescribes two meals; but says he "Let him not take a third meal during the interval of his morning and evening ones." *Manu* ⁴⁶⁹ says "Let him avoid over-eating". For says he: ⁴⁷⁰ "Over-eating brings on ill health, shortens the duration of life, proves hostile to acts (sacrifices) which lead to heaven, is sinful and condemned by men. Hence let him avoid over-eating." *Hārīt* ⁴⁷¹ speaks in the same strain: "Taking too much or bad food is destructive of health, longevity, attainment of the celestial region and virtue and is condemned by the community. Therefore it should be avoided". According to *Gautama Saṃhitā* ⁴⁷² "He shall eat his meal till the appetite is fully satisfied. He shall rise up from his dinner just as he has taken his fill, without casting any greedy look on the food left unconsumed". Indeed true discipline consists in withdrawing the mind from sense-objects, instead of merely checking the senses. The *Bhāgabat Gītā* forbids gluttony because over-eating stands in the way of success in the practices of Yoga ⁴⁷³ i. e., control of the mind.

⁴⁶² *Manu* II, 52.

⁴⁶³ I, 62.

⁴⁶⁴ *Hārīt* I, 58; I, 64; *Sambartā* I, 11; *Yājñabalkya* I, 31; *Gautama* II.

⁴⁶⁵ Ch. VI.

⁴⁶⁶ *Vaśiṣṭha* VI.

⁴⁶⁷ I, 33.

⁴⁶⁸ II, 56.

⁴⁶⁹ II, 56.

⁴⁷⁰ II, 57.

⁴⁷¹ I, 61.

⁴⁷² Ch. II.

⁴⁷³ *Nāṭyaśāstratā* Yogostī in *Bhāg. Gītā*. *Atomanah chanchalatvam yayan āhārasavayā in śukasaptati*, I, 56. (See Z. D. M. G., for 1900., p. 643).

He should not take only cooked rice ⁴⁷⁴ nor that which is the residue of another's meal. ⁴⁷⁵ According to Yājñabalkya ⁴⁷⁶ and Viṣṇu ⁴⁷⁷ he can take the residue of the food of his preceptor only. He should not, however, take the residue of his preceptor's food willingly for medicinal purposes. ⁴⁷⁸ "Nor should he take the residue of the food eaten by his guru's son ⁴⁷⁹ or wife". ⁴⁸⁰ Yājñabalkya ⁴⁸¹ says "while a brahmachārin, one should not partake of boiled rice brought from elsewhere unless he suffers from any disease. And a brāhmaṇa only is allowed to take food as he likes when invited on the occasion of a śrāddha, provided he does not break his vow". Manu ⁴⁸² says "A brahmachārin having been invited to a repast given in connection with a śrāddha offered to the deities may take to his satisfaction (articles of food which do not soil the vow of a vowist); invited to a repast in connection with a śrāddha offered to the manes, he may take to his satisfaction such food, which a ṛṣi may eat (nirvāra grains and such like food-stuff which a holy sage usually takes in his hermitage) without incurring the sin of eating the food given by one and the same person; thereby his vow is not nullified". According to Vyāsa Saṃhitā ⁴⁸³ "he may dine in connection with a pitṛ śrāddha if thereto invited by a person without any disqualification and if his preceptor approves of it. But a kṣatriya or a vaiśya brahmachārin is not authorised to partake of a śrāddha repast given by a single person". Sambarta Saṃhitā, ⁴⁸⁴ however, lays down that "a brahmachārin, who eats boiled rice of a person suffering from the impurity of birth or that at the first śrāddha or that at the monthly (śrāddha) should get himself purified (by fasting) for three nights". According to Viṣṇu ⁴⁸⁵ and Sāṃkhya ⁴⁸⁶ Saṃhitās he should avoid meals on the occasion of a śrāddha ceremony.

He should avoid flesh; ⁴⁸⁷ specially of aquatic creatures; ⁴⁸⁸ he should

⁴⁷⁴ Vyāsa I. 31. ⁴⁷⁵ Vyāsa I. 31; Manu II. 56; Yājñabalkya I. 33. ⁴⁷⁶ I. 33.

⁴⁷⁷ XXXIII. 11. ⁴⁷⁸ Uśanā III. 21. ⁴⁷⁹ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 33; Gautama II.

⁴⁸⁰ Gautama II. ⁴⁸¹ I. 32. ⁴⁸² II. 188-89. ⁴⁸³ I. 32.

⁴⁸⁴ I. 24. ⁴⁸⁵ XXVIII. 11. ⁴⁸⁶ III. 12.

⁴⁸⁷ Aitareya Āraṇyaka V; Manu III. 177; Yājñabalkya I. 33; Sambarta I. 5; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.

⁴⁸⁸ Taitt. Brāhmaṇa II. 8, 7.

avoid meat-diet;⁴⁸⁹ he should not take honey.⁴⁹⁰ If however a student happens to take somehow meat or honey he should after performing Prājāpatya, be purified by a mouñji-homa.⁴⁹¹ He should not take articles of sweet taste which acquire an acid flavour when stale.⁴⁹² He should avoid prepared betel-leaf.⁴⁹³ He should not take artificial salt⁴⁹⁴ and sweet juice.⁴⁹⁵ He should refrain from taking all kinds of stale food.⁴⁹⁶

(f) *Sleep*.—According to Manu,⁴⁹⁷ Hārīt⁴⁹⁸ and Sāṃkhya⁴⁹⁹ Samhitās the student should lie on the bare ground. According to Vasiṣṭha Samhitā⁵⁰⁰ he should avoid sleep on a cot.⁵⁰¹ According to Gautama⁵⁰² and Viṣṇu⁵⁰³ he should sleep on a lower bed than that of his preceptor and should rise before and sleep after his preceptor.⁵⁰⁴

According Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁵⁰⁵ he should not sleep in day time.⁵⁰⁶ Manu⁵⁰⁷ and Viṣṇu⁵⁰⁸ Samhitās say—"If the sun goes down without the knowledge of the brahmachārin finding him resting in bed out of laziness, let him mutter the Gāyatrī mantra and fast for a whole day." Indeed according to the Mahābhārata sleeping at sandhyā shortens life.⁵⁰⁹ Sambarta Samhitā⁵¹⁰ lays down that if a brahmachārin, on any occasion, sleeps during the day, in a healthy state, he should after bathing and adoring the sun, recite the Gāyatrī one hundred and eight times.

(g) *Celibacy*. The greatest restraint was as regards the sexual impulses. Herein the Aryans were strong as compared with their enemies the Dasyus who are laughed at as śiśnadevāḥ,⁵¹¹ a term which Yāska interprets

⁴⁸⁹ Sāṃkhya III. 12 ; Gautama II.

⁴⁹⁰ Manu II. 177 ; Yājñalkya I. 33 ; Sambarta I. 5 ; Sāṃkhya III. 12 ; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11 ; Gautama II.

⁴⁹¹ Sambarta I. 26.

⁴⁹² Manu II. 177.

⁴⁹³ Parāśara Samhitā I. 50.

⁴⁹⁴ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.

⁴⁹⁵ Uśanā III. 16.

⁴⁹⁶ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.

⁴⁹⁷ II. 108.

⁴⁹⁸ III. 2.

⁴⁹⁹ III. 13.

⁵⁰⁰ Ch. VII.

⁵⁰¹ Compare Taitt. Brāh.—He should avoid high seats.

⁵⁰² Ch. II.

⁵⁰³ XXVIII. 12-13.

⁵⁰⁴ Compare Vyāsa I. 35.

⁵⁰⁵ XI. 5. 4. 5.

⁵⁰⁶ Mantrapāṭha II. 6, 14.—Divā mā susupthāh.

⁵⁰⁷ II. 220.

⁵⁰⁸ XXVIII. 53.

⁵⁰⁹ Anuśāsanaparva, 104, 27 ; 120, 87 ; 100, 56 ; 120, 29.

⁵¹⁰ I. 33.

⁵¹¹ Rgveda VIII. 2. 1. 5 ; X. 99. 3.

as 'men of loose sexual habits'. Elsewhere we are told that the Aryans were able to vanquish the united army of the Asuras entirely by their brahma-charya tapas, i. e., the stability of character arising from the curbing of the sexual impulses.⁵¹² The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa,⁵¹³ therefore, enjoins the student to observe the vow of continence. According to Hārīt⁵¹⁴ and Vyāsa⁵¹⁵ Saṃhitās the student should lead a celibate life. "He should refrain from sexual intercourse."⁵¹⁶ According to Yājñabalkya⁵¹⁷ he should always avoid women. Uśanā Saṃhitā⁵¹⁸ lays down that he should studiously avoid maidens. Manu⁵¹⁹ says—"Let the student refrain from visiting women." "Let him renounce embracing and casting lustful eyes on females."⁵²⁰ Vātsyāyana⁵²¹ says—"In his boyhood, one should devote himself to education and other equipments as the means of securing worldly objects in after life. He should observe absolute celibacy till he completes his education." Sambarta Saṃhitā⁵²² says "A student who being stricken with lust knows a woman should, being observant of regulations, perform the distressing penance of Prājāpatya."

Married students were, however, not unknown. Kautilya in his Arthaśāstra⁵²³ refers to "married students studying abroad" The Jātakas also refer to married students who continued their studies at Benares as external students (Jātaka I. 463; I. 300; Ibid., 301-02). Lastly, we may refer to the instance of a teacher of 500 students at Benares who selects by a special test one of them for the hand of his grown-up daughter. With some teachers "there was a custom that if there should be a daughter ripe for marriage she should be given to the eldest pupil" (Jātaka III. 18; VI. 347).

"Let him sleep always alone, and let him not cast his seed (by any unnatural means). A lustful casting of one's seed kills one's vow."⁵²⁴ Indeed deliberate acts resulting in loss of seed were regarded as acts of theft and of murder of embryo.⁵²⁵ And the killing of human

⁵¹² Tait. Āraṇyaka II. 1.

⁵¹⁴ III. 1.

⁵¹⁶ Hārīt III. 8; Gautama II; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.

⁵¹⁸ III. 16.

⁵²¹ Kāmasūtra Bk. I. Ch. II. ślo. 2-3.

⁵²³ R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 201.

⁵¹⁵ II. 8. 7.

⁵¹⁶ I. 23; I. 28.

⁵¹⁷ I. 33.

⁵²⁰ Manu II. 179.

⁵²² I. 25.

⁵²⁴ Manu II. 180.

⁵²⁵ Taitt. Brāh. II. 8. 2.

seed (vīryahatyā) was as heinous a sin as the slaughter of a brāhmaṇa or the murder of a foetus.⁵²⁶ Even unconscious emission of the vital fluid has its expiatory rites; for it implied not only loss of health and strength, and shortening of life, but also loss of intellectual and spiritual power. It was thus a sin against Indra, Agni and Bṛhaspati.⁵²⁷ A brāhmaṇa student who has unintentionally spent himself in sleep, shall bathe and worship the sun and thrice mutter the Rik running as Punarmām, etc.⁵²⁸ According to Samvarta Saṃhitā⁵²⁹ "a brahmachārin who knowingly discharges his seminal fluid, should perform the expiation consequent on the breach of the vow; and if unknowingly, he should be purified by bathing." According to Viṣṇu Saṃhitā⁵³⁰ "a wilful evacuation of semen by a brahmachārin is pronounced as the breach of the vow by pious Brahmvādins. Having committed this sin he shall put on the skin of an ass and beg at seven houses, confessing his guilt. For a year he shall live on what he shall obtain by thus begging every day and bathe three times a day whereby he shall regain his purity." "Having unconsciously spent his seed in a dream, a brahmachārin shall bathe, and worship the sun and three times recite the Punarmām etc., verse whereby he shall regain his purity."⁵³¹

"So essential was the virtue of continence" remarks Professor Venkateśwara⁵³² "that brahmacharya came to denote both continence and studentship. All our texts agree that discipline is more important than study. Agni granted Gaya the power to know the Vedas without study, simply as the result of his austerity, chastity, observances, vows and the grace of the gurus.⁵³³ How to make sure of brahmacharya and to steer

⁵²⁶ Compare the list of offences in the Tīrtharpa. The degrees are Brahmahatyā, Vṛṇahatyā and Vīryahatyā. Yathā Vṛṇahatyā evam oṣa bhabati yathā ayonau rotah siñchati (T. A. II. 8. 2). Ā no vīro jāyatām in Taitt. Saṃp. II. 1. Kuṣmāṇḍairjuhuyāt yō āpātā iva manyate, and yad arvāchīno Vṛṇahatyāyāś tasmāt machyate (T. A. II. 8. 3).

⁵²⁷ Tait. Āraṇyaka II. 8.

⁵²⁸ Manu II. 181.

⁵²⁹ I. 28.

⁵³⁰ XXVIII. 48-50.

⁵³¹ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 51.

⁵³² Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. pp. 138-40.

⁵³³ Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 66, 2f.

clear of passions and temptations when youth passed into adolescence. This subject was one of anxious care among the ancients. Manu has a simple recipe for counteracting sexual inclinations and the premature awakening of the sexual impulse. 'Give the mind absorbing work and the body plentiful exercise in the open air'. Sexual ideas breed in the darkness of the closed room and in the luxury of comfortable beds and belongings. Hence the unanimous condemnation in all the scriptures Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina, of unguents and perfumes, flowers and high seats, beds, sandal, music etc., which capture the mind through the gateways of the senses. Some of the texts like the Anugītā,⁵³⁴ forbid secular music even to the family man, on the ground that it would stimulate the senses to an undue extent. Further, the young men were to go out for alms and do other work of a strenuous and tiring nature. A story in the Pausyapārba of the Mahābhārata illustrates this somewhat Spartan rigour and the privations to which students were inured. Lastly, they were trained up to regard with a brotherly eye all the tender-eyed maidens of the neighbourhood who bestowed alms, and the guru's wife and other members of his household, with whom they were on familiar terms. The Hindu system was thus a contrast to the Egyptian. In the latter, the sight of strange girls was to be avoided; in the former ladies were looked on as mothers and sisters, so that the carnal idea was put out of place in spite of social freedom. The only exception was in the Buddhist and Jaina monasteries, where young men lived in bands and the vice of homosexuality appears to have prevailed, as in modern times in hostels and boarding houses, as described by Havelock Ellis.⁵³⁵

(b) *Mental and moral discipline.*—The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa⁵³⁶ requires the brahmachārin to overcome the same passions, viz., caste-pride (brahma-varchasam), fame, sleep, anger, bragging, personal beauty and fragrance which are correlated respectively with the antelope, the teacher, the python, the boar, the water, maidens, trees and plants. If he clothes himself in the skin of the antelope, he obtains

⁵³⁴ S. B. E. Vol. VIII. p. 208. Compare Gantama II. 13 and Manu II. 178.

⁵³⁵ Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Vol. p. 97.

⁵³⁶ II. 1, 2. 1-9.

brahmavarchasam; if he works for his teacher, he obtains fame for the latter; if though sleepy, he abstains from sleep, he obtains the sleep that is in the python; if humble in spirit, he does not injure any one in anger, he obtains the anger that is in the bear; if he does not perform braggart tricks in the water, he obtains the braggadocio that is in the water; if he does not look at a naked maiden, he obtains the beauty that is in the maiden; if he does not smell plants and trees, after having cut them, he becomes himself fragrant.⁵³⁷

He should have control over his senses.⁵³⁸ "He should curb his tongue,⁵³⁹ appetite and arms".⁵⁴⁰ He should renounce lust,⁵⁴¹ anger,⁵⁴² discontent,⁵⁴³ greed,⁵⁴⁴ fear,⁵⁴⁵ hatred,⁵⁴⁶ falsehood,⁵⁴⁷ pride (māna),⁵⁴⁸ idleness,⁵⁴⁹ mada,⁵⁵⁰ moha,⁵⁵¹ chapalatā,⁵⁵² wickedness,⁵⁵³ envy,⁵⁵⁴ malice,⁵⁵⁵ useless conversation,⁵⁵⁶ idle gossips⁵⁵⁷ lewd talk,⁵⁵⁸ obscene words,⁵⁵⁹ sleep⁵⁶⁰ (too much sleeping), idle glances at the sun,⁵⁶¹ idle strolls,⁵⁶² ignorance,⁵⁶³ abusive language,⁵⁶⁴ harsh words,⁵⁶⁵ detracting other people,⁵⁶⁶ calumny,⁵⁶⁷ scandal,⁵⁶⁸ intoxication,⁵⁶⁹ looking at women,⁵⁷⁰ conversing with women,⁵⁷¹ with śūdras⁵⁷² and with notorious impure persons,⁵⁷³

⁵³⁷ Atharvaveda—Bloomfield, p. 111.

⁵³⁸ Manu II. 178; Uśanā III. 15.

⁵³⁹ Vasiṣṭha VII.

⁵⁴⁰ Gautama II.

⁵⁴¹ Manu II. 178; Uśanā III. 17; Gautama II.

⁵⁴² Manu II. 178; Uśanā III. 15; Uśanā III. 17; Gautama II; Mahābhārata, Udyogaparba, 43rd adhyāya.

⁵⁴³ Vyāsa I. 29; Mahābhārata, Ādiparba, 91st adhyāya.

⁵⁴⁴ Manu II. 178; Gautama II; Mahābhārata, Udyogaparba, 39th adhyāya.

⁵⁴⁵ Uśanā III. 17; Gautama II.

⁵⁴⁶ Vyāsa I. 28.

⁵⁴⁷ Manu II. 179; Taitt.

⁵⁴⁸ Mahābhārata, Udyogaparba, 43rd adhyāya.

Brāh. II. 8. 7.

⁵⁴⁹ Mahābhārata, Udyogaparba, 39th adhyāya.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Uśanā III. 8.

⁵⁵⁴ Vyāsa I. 28; Sāmkhya III. 12.

⁵⁵⁵ Vyāsa I. 28.

⁵⁵⁶ Hārīt III. 8.

⁵⁵⁷ Manu II. 179.

⁵⁵⁸ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.

⁵⁵⁹ Yājñabalkya I. 33.

⁵⁶⁰ Uśanā III. 17.

⁵⁶¹ Vyāsa I. 28; Yājñabalkya I. 33.

⁵⁶² Vyāsa I. 29.

⁵⁶³ Gautama II.

⁵⁶⁴ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.

⁵⁶⁵ Yājñabalkya I. 33.

⁵⁶⁶ Uśanā III. 18.

⁵⁶⁷ Vyāsa I. 28; Sāmkhya III. 12; Yājñabalkya I. 33;

⁵⁶⁸ Manu II. 129.

Gautama II.

⁵⁶⁹ Vyāsa I. 28.

⁵⁷⁰ Uśanā III. 18; Mahābhārata, Śāntiparba, 213th

⁵⁷¹ Uśanā III. 18; Uśanā III. 21;

adhyāya.

Mahābhārata, Śāntiparba, 213th adhyāya.

⁵⁷² Uśanā III. 21.

⁵⁷³ Uśanā III. 21.

injuring other people,⁵⁷⁴ hurtful feelings,⁵⁷⁵ female company,⁵⁷⁶ thievish propensities and service of the mean.⁵⁷⁷ He should be impartial,⁵⁷⁸ of sweet speech⁵⁷⁹ and devout in spirit.⁵⁸⁰ He should abstain from riding on horses and elephants.⁵⁸¹ He should forego the use of vehicles of all kinds.⁵⁸² "He was not to run when it rained or to tread on gold or on the lotus flower; he was to refrain from voiding rheum or committing nuisance in the mass of waters intended for bathing in."⁵⁸³ He must avoid dancing⁵⁸⁴ and singing.⁵⁸⁵ He should abstain from playing on musical instruments.⁵⁸⁶ He should refrain from all music.⁵⁸⁷ He should avoid gambling.⁵⁸⁸ He should renounce gambling with dice.⁵⁸⁹ Manu⁵⁹⁰ says:—"Let him (the brahmachārin) refrain from killing animals and doing injury to them."⁵⁹¹ According to Uśanā⁵⁹² he should studiously avoid the destruction of small animals. According to Gautama⁵⁹³ he should renounce all killing propensities.

That some of these rules were actually enforced is evident from the case of Prince Āyu who was expelled from the school by Chyavan for having killed a bird with an arrow near by. Even the royal visitors had to observe the rules of discipline while in the school compound. King Duṣmanta had to withdraw his arrow aimed at a deer at the request of the hermit teacher. When in quest of Rāma Bharata started for Chitrakūta hill he did not dare to enter the hermitage of Varadwāja with his troops but asked them to stay at a respectful distance of two miles lest they caused disturbance (āśramapiḍā) there.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁷⁴ Uśanā III. 18.

⁵⁷⁶ Sāṃkhya III. 12.

⁵⁷⁹ Uśanā III. 15; Vyāsa I. 36.

⁵⁸¹ Hārīt III. 9.

⁵⁸³ Taitt. Āraṇyaka I. 26; II. 8, 7; Taitt. Saṃ., II. 1.

⁵⁸⁴ Hārīt III. 8; Uśanā III. 17; Vyāsa I. 28; Sāṃkhya III. 12; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11; Manu II. 178.

⁵⁸⁵ Hārīt III. 8; Uśanā III. 17; Uśanā III. 20; Vyāsa I. 28; Sāṃkhya III. 12; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11; Manu II. 178.

⁵⁸⁷ Sāṃkhya III. 12; Manu II. 178; Gautama II.

⁵⁸⁹ Manu II. 179.

⁵⁹¹ Yājñabalkya I. 23.

⁵⁹⁴ Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 89th and 91st sargas.

⁵⁷⁵ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11.

⁵⁷⁸ Uśanā III. 20.

⁵⁸⁰ Vyāsa I. 36.

⁵⁸² Gautama II.

⁵⁸⁶ Uśanā III. 17.

⁵⁸⁸ Uśanā III. 17; Gautama II.

⁵⁹⁰ II. 177.

⁵⁹³ Ch. II.

⁵⁹² III. 16.

All these conditions of studentship and rules governing Vedic studies seem to be very severe to us now; they seem to have made the life of the student miserable, as he was denied all worldly pleasures and had to live a beggar's or a menial's life in the house of a stranger. Indeed, such restrictions might kill cheerfulness but they materially helped in the attainment of the spiritual ideal of the then education. They made students highly moral in conduct and respectful in behaviour. In doing physical labour at the teacher's house, on his field and pasture, the students developed their limbs and muscles in the fresh air and sunlight. The moral side received direct training in the morning and evening prayers, in the study of the religious texts and in the performance of the sacrificial ritual. The intellectual side was touched in hearing explanations of mantras and hymns, in the observation of Nature and the preparation of the material at the sacrifice, domestic or public. Memory and imagination received the greatest attention, as from start to finish, lessons were learnt by heart and as various mystical ideas about deities and gods were heard from the teachers. In fact the marvellous and elaborate system of sacrifices were the product of the incomparable flights of the imagination of the priesthood. We may laugh at the old brahmachāri not taking sweets, living in a lonely place, having light meals, turning away his ears from music, etc.; but unless the bodily senses are trained up and controlled in some such way, it is impossible for a human being to check his actions and desires. Indeed by means of these external practices and regulations, it was sought to develop in the young pupils those internal conditions (*pratyāsanna* or direct as opposed to *bāhya*) or mental and moral attributes which would afterwards fit them for being taught the highest knowledge. Such a regulated life results in "inner freedom" which cannot come off by itself or at will. Philosophers have proved that the unit of change is both physical and spiritual and that the one precedes the other. You cannot begin at the top. The bodily unit is the place where you can commence a change and make a slow but sure progress till in course of time you find your mind as well as your body completely transformed. Hence the ancient Hindus created such an atmosphere as kept the aim of his stay in the teacher's house brightly before the pupil's eye

and as such created a necessity for him to put forth great voluntary effort to accomplish it. Educationists tell us that to stimulate the effort on the part of the pupil and to enlist it in line with our aim are the chief purposes of teaching. Pestalozzi did not give so much importance to "interest" in education as to "self-effort" on the part of the student. The Hindus then were so far successful in their attempts, though the effort of the student was accompanied with something like ascetic gloom.

§ 8. RESPECT TO TEACHER.

There were rules also for the respect due from pupil to teacher. Respect to teacher was also a part of Aśoka's Law of Piety.⁵⁹⁵ Strict obedience was enjoined unless the teacher ordered the pupil to commit crimes which involved loss of caste.⁵⁹⁶ Even having been reprimanded by his preceptor, he should not make any reply in retort, nor go away even when driven away by the former. (Vyāsa I. 27). "An infringement of the preceptor's order makes all studies of the Vedas abortive. Hence one should study them in a submissive spirit."⁵⁹⁷

He should not cleanse his teeth or prick his ear-holes or stretch or screw up his legs or sit with his chin supporting on his hand or laugh or yawn or contort his limbs or twist his body, in the presence of his preceptor (Gautama II). By the side of his preceptor he shall eat food and wear garments inferior to those of his preceptor.⁵⁹⁸ By the side of his preceptor he shall always occupy a lower bed or seat.⁵⁹⁹ He shall lie down in a lower bed than that of his preceptor and sleep after he has slept, leaving his bed before he rises.⁶⁰⁰ He should avoid sitting on the same bed or seat with his preceptor or at a place where his preceptor sits;⁶⁰¹ "except in a boat,⁶⁰² or in a carriage⁶⁰³ or on a stone slab"⁶⁰⁴ or in a bullock cart, "in a court-yard or in the terrace of a building or a large mattress of reeds."⁶⁰⁵ "He must not sit with his guru when

⁵⁹⁵ Rock Edict IX; Minor Rock Edict II.

⁵⁹⁶ Āpastamba I. 1.

⁵⁹⁷ Vyāsa I. 39.

⁵⁹⁸ Manu II. 174.

⁵⁹⁹ Manu II. 198.

⁶⁰⁰ Manu II. 194; Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 91st adhyāya; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 12-13; Gautama II.

⁶⁰¹ Manu II. 119; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 27; Gautama II.

⁶⁰² Viṣṇu XXVIII. 28.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁵ Manu II. 204.

the wind will be blowing from his direction to that of his guru or the contrary; while in his company he must not say anything which is inaudible to his guru."⁶⁰⁶

Serving a preceptor consists in hearing his behests from a lower seat and in meekly and faithfully carrying them out.⁶⁰⁷ "He should not serve the preceptor (by the intervention of another) while he stands aloof nor when he (himself) is angry, nor when a woman is near; if he is seated in a carriage or on a (raised) seat he should get down and salute his preceptor."⁶⁰⁸ A disciple should stand up at the sight of his preceptor⁶⁰⁹ and follow him whenever he goes out.⁶¹⁰ "Interrogated by his preceptor, he should give true and correct answer to his queries, sit down to study whenever he may be pleased to direct him in that behalf⁶¹¹ and do nothing but what is pleasant and beneficial to him."⁶¹² Likewise he should behave towards his preceptor's wife,⁶¹³ sons,⁶¹⁴ friends⁶¹⁵ and relations.⁶¹⁶ "After performing his sandhyā he shall salute his preceptor. He shall simultaneously catch hold of the two feet of his preceptor with his two hands, the right foot with the right hand and the left foot with the left hand. After salutation he shall mention his own name (as I am such and such) and add the word 'Bhos' at the end of his address."⁶¹⁷ One should catch hold of one's preceptor's feet every day when first meeting him.⁶¹⁸ He must not speak to his preceptor when he is himself sitting, standing, lying down, eating or averting his face.⁶¹⁹ If his preceptor sits, let him speak to him, standing up; if he walks, advancing towards him; if he comes towards him, meeting him; if he runs, running after him; ⁶²⁰ turning round so as to meet him, if his face is averted (Viṣṇu 20; Manu II. 197). Approaching him, if he is at a distance; ⁶²¹ leaning to him, if he be in a reclining posture. ⁶²² Before his eyes, let

⁶⁰⁶ Manu II. 293.

⁶⁰⁷ Gautama II.

⁶⁰⁸ Manu II. 202.

⁶⁰⁹ Manu II. 130; Manu II. 119; Gautama II.

⁶¹⁰ Gautama II.

⁶¹¹ Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 91st adhyāya.

⁶¹² Gautama II.

⁶¹³ Manu II. 210; Gautama II.

⁶¹⁴ Gautama II; Manu II. 207

⁶¹⁵ Manu II. 207.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

⁶¹⁷ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 14-17.

⁶¹⁸ Vasiṣṭha XI; Gautama VI.

⁶¹⁹ Manu II. 195; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 18.

⁶²⁰ Manu II. 196; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 19.

⁶²¹ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 20; Manu II. 197.

⁶²² Viṣṇu XXVIII. 22; Manu II. 197.

him not sit in a careless manner. ⁶²³ He shall not utter his preceptor's name even at his back. ⁶²⁴ Let him not pronounce his name without due respect. ⁶²⁵ Let him not imitate his speech, gait and manner. ⁶²⁶ Let him not wilfully leap over the shadow of his preceptor. ⁶²⁷ Let him not in any way hurt or injure an āchārya (and an expounder of the Vedas). ⁶²⁸ Let him leave the place where his guru is calumnised or lightly spoken of. ⁶²⁹ "A calumniator of his own guru shall be born as an ass; and a vilifier of his own guru shall be a dog in his next birth; for having wrongfully enjoyed the property of his own guru, he shall be born as a worm; one who is envious of his guru's excellence shall take his birth as an insect in his next incarnation". ⁶³⁰ "Having used angry words to his preceptor one should bathe at morning, noon and evening each day, live in a thatched cottage of dry leaves and on roots and bulbs of the forest, wearing large clotted hairs, lie down on bare ground in the night, enter a village for alms, proclaiming his guilt to all and sundry. For twelve years he should live the life of penance." ⁶³¹ For having angrily roared unto a preceptor he should practise the above-mentioned penance. ⁶³² Without the permission of his preceptor, let him not speak to his relatives, parents etc. ⁶³³ Even if a preceptor communicates only one letter to a disciple, there is no article on earth, by presenting which he may be free from his debt. ⁶³⁴ He who does not regard a preceptor, the giver of even one letter, is born among the chaṇḍālas, after having gone through a hundred births in the canine species. ⁶³⁵ According to Kautilya's Arthaśāstra the student should be devoted to his teacher even at the cost of his own life or in the absence of his teacher, to the teacher's son or to an elder class-mate. ⁶³⁶ Again "the teacher shall invariably be respected." ⁶³⁷ "As a student his teacher, a son his father and a servant his master, the king shall follow (the high-priest). ⁶³⁸ "One should not sit on

⁶²³ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 23; Manu II. 198.

⁶²⁵ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 24; Gautama II.

⁶²⁶ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 25; Manu II. 199.

⁶²⁸ Manu IV. 162.

⁶³⁰ Manu II. 201.

⁶³² Sāṃkhya XVII. 56.

⁶³⁴ Atri Samhitā I. 9.

⁶³⁶ R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans., p. 8.

⁶²⁴ Manu II. 199.

⁶²⁷ Manu IV. 130.

⁶²⁹ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 26; Manu II. 200.

⁶³¹ Sāṃkhya XVII. 1-2 and 51.

⁶³³ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 30; Manu II. 205.

⁶³⁵ Atri I. 10.

⁶³⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

important seats before the preceptor nor being arrogant, distort his sayings through (false) reasoning." ⁶³⁹ According to Śukrāchārya ⁶⁴⁰ "the ācharya or preceptor (of the king) like the father (of the king) is to sit on the same kind of good seats." We get a bright example of devotion and obedience to the teacher in the characters of Āruṇi, Upamanyu and Ekalabya. ⁶⁴¹

Show him the respect of a guru, if a preceptor's preceptor is arrived. ⁶⁴² On a preceptor's son, junior or equal to him in years, happening to be his tutor, he shall pay the same respect to him as to his own preceptor. ⁶⁴³ "The śruti says that one must treat a teacher's son just as the teacher himself." ⁶⁴⁴ A preceptor's wife happening to be young, a disciple should not touch her feet during an act of obeisance; ⁶⁴⁵ but returning from a sojourn in a distant country, he may be allowed to catch hold of her feet ⁶⁴⁶ on the first day; on all subsequent days, he shall simply accost her without clasping her feet. ⁶⁴⁷ He should not address the sons or wife of his preceptor by their names and avoid using any harsh language. ⁶⁴⁸

If a teacher dies, one should not read the Vedas for three nights. ⁶⁴⁹ A man remains unclean for three days on the death of a spiritual preceptor or of a wife or son of his spiritual preceptor. ⁶⁵⁰ One becomes purified in one night, if the wife or son of his teacher or his upādhyāya or a fellow-student or a pupil is dead. ⁶⁵¹ On the death of his preceptor, unto a qualified son of his or unto his widow or unto a cognate of his, he shall behave as his preceptor. ⁶⁵² The property of bachelors learning the Vedas shall on their death be taken by their preceptors. ⁶⁵³

A development of the rules regulating the conduct of the pupil to his preceptor was the exaltation of the teacher to such a position of

⁶³⁹ Śukranītisāra, Ch. III, lines 326-27.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., Ch. I, line 720.

⁶⁴¹ Viṣṇu XXVIII. 29; Manu II. 205; Vasiṣṭha XI.

⁶⁴² Manu II. 208; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 31.

⁶⁴³ Manu II. 212; Gautama II.

⁶⁴⁴ Manu II. 217.

⁶⁴⁵ Vasiṣṭha XI.

⁶⁴⁶ Viṣṇu XXII. 43.

⁶⁴⁷ R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 242.

⁶⁴⁸ Mahābhārata, Ādi-parva, 132nd adhyāya.

⁶⁴⁹ Vasiṣṭha XI; Gautama II.

⁶⁵⁰ Manu II. 217; Gautama II.

⁶⁵¹ Gautama II.

⁶⁵² Gautama XIV.

⁶⁵³ Manu II. 247.

reverence that he was worshipped by his pupil.⁶⁵⁴ In the schools of early Vedānta, the teacher or guru was always one who was himself supposed to have reached emancipation and thus to have come to the realisation that he is Brahman. In his devotion or bhakti for Brahman, it was but a short step for the pupil to feel bhakti also for the guru who was thus identified with Brahman. This is referred to as early as the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad⁶⁵⁵ but it received a great emphasis in all the chief Bhakti sects. A spiritual guide and a teacher are to be particularly adored.⁶⁵⁶ A teacher is the foremost of all superiors.⁶⁵⁷ Of one's two fathers, the progenitor and the teacher of the Vedas, more honoured is the teacher of the Vedas in as much as the birth of a twice-born one in the knowledge of Brahman is the only abiding existence both in this world and the next.⁶⁵⁸ The pupil should consider his preceptor as his father and mother; he must not grieve them by saying 'I am indebted to none'.⁶⁵⁹ One's mother, father and preceptor are called one's great gurus.⁶⁶⁰ One must perpetually serve them.⁶⁶¹ Let him obey their commands.⁶⁶² Let him do what is pleasant and beneficial to them.⁶⁶³ Without their leave he should not do anything.⁶⁶⁴ "Let him constantly do what is good to his parents and specially what conduces to the comfort of his preceptor. The satisfaction of these three is the consummation of all tapas (penitential austerities)."⁶⁶⁵ Serving these constitutes the highest tapas; without their permission let him not practise any other piety.⁶⁶⁶ "These three represent the three regions, the three orders of society. They are the three Vedas, they are the three fires. The father is the household fire, the mother is the ceremonial fire, the preceptor

⁶⁵⁴ Furqubar, *Crown of Hinduism*, p. 402.

⁶⁵⁵ VI. 23.

⁶⁵⁶ Uśanī I. 30.

⁶⁵⁷ Gautama II.

⁶⁵⁸ Manu II. 145; Viṣṇu XXX. 44; Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 108th adhyāya; compare Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 243rd adhyāya.

⁶⁵⁹ Vasiṣṭha II.

⁶⁶⁰ Viṣṇu XXXI. 1-2. In the Rāmāyaṇa, (Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, 18th sarga we are told that the eldest brother, the progenitor and the teacher are all fathers.

⁶⁶¹ Viṣṇu XXXI. 3.

⁶⁶² Viṣṇu XXXI. 4.

⁶⁶³ Viṣṇu XXXI. 5; Manu II. 235.

⁶⁶⁴ Viṣṇu XXXI. 6; Manu II. 236.

⁶⁶⁵ Manu II. 228.

⁶⁶⁶ Manu II. 229; Manu II. 235, 237.

is the spiritual fire. These three fires are the most glorious in the world." ⁶⁶⁷ "A householder who does not commit any folly in respect of these conquers the three regions ; effulgent as a god, he even in his mortal frame, is enabled to enjoy the felicity of heaven." ⁶⁶⁸ By means of devotion to his father he conquers the middle world (firmament) and by devotion to his preceptor he attains to the region of Brahmā. ⁶⁶⁹ Commendable are all the acts of him by whom these three are respected. Futile are the acts of him by whom these three are dishonoured. ⁶⁷⁰ By worshipping his preceptor alone and not so much through the merit of oblations, homa or fireworship, that a brahmachārin can attain to heaven. ⁶⁷¹ This was, of course, an honour paid to a religious teacher but it had an effect upon the relation of all pupils and teachers and helps to explain the high respect which Indian students of today have even for a teacher of secular subjects.

§ 9. THE ANNUAL TERM.

The session (or annual term) began in the rainy or cold season when the heat was less intense. The commencement (of Vedic study) must take place on the full moon day either of the months of Āṣāḍha, Śrāvaṇa or Bhādra." ⁶⁷² In the Rāmāyaṇa ⁶⁷³ we are told that "brāhmaṇas of the Sāma school are waiting for the month of Bhādra which is the time for beginning their Vedic studies". According to Gautama Saṃhitā ⁶⁷⁴ one should read the Vedas in the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra or during the five months the sun follows the southern course. Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā ⁶⁷⁵ says : "The Upakarman (the rite preparatory to Vedic study) shall be done on the full moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa or Prausthapa". According to Viṣṇu Saṃhitā ⁶⁷⁶ the rite of Upakarman is to be performed on the full moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra. For we are told ⁶⁷⁷ that it was then that the herbs appeared amid the glad

⁶⁶⁷ Manu II. 230-31 ; Viṣṇu XXXI. 7-8.

⁶⁶⁸ Manu II. 232.

⁶⁶⁹ Viṣṇu XXXI. 9 ; Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 108th adhyāya.

⁶⁷⁰ Sāṃkhya V. 9.

⁶⁷¹ Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 28th sarga.

⁶⁷² Ch. XVI.

⁶⁷³ Ch. XXX.

⁶⁶⁸ Manu II. 233 ; Viṣṇu XXXI. 10.

⁶⁷² Uśanā Saṃhitā III. 55.

⁶⁷⁵ Ch. XI.

⁶⁷⁷ Sāṃkhya, IV, 5, 2.

grass and all Nature smiled with the pulsation of a fresh life. This was also the commencement of the Vedic year, when the frogs broke into a croaking harmony and when the Vedic students returned to their chant. According to Yājñabalkya ⁶⁷⁵ "when medicinal herbs grow on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa or on a day under the Śrāvaṇa asterism or on the fifth day of Hasta asterism (name of the 13th lunar mansion consisting of five stars) one should begin the study of the Vedas". The Upakarman rite was performed annually before the commencement of the study of the Veda. ⁶⁷⁹ "Having kindled the sacred fire he (the student) shall offer oblations to the deities and the sacred metres. Having made oblations to the sacred metres, having made the brāhmaṇas utter words of well-being and after having fed them with curd he shall continue the Vedic study for four months and a half and then perform the Utsarga (a dedicatory rite performed annually after the completion of the Veda)." ⁶⁸⁰ "After a study of four months and a half" says the Viṣṇu Saṃhitā ⁶⁸¹ "the rite of Utsarga shall be done, outside the town, in respect of the Vedas which have been completely studied and not in respect of those whose studies have not then been completed". According to Uśanā Saṃhitā ⁶⁸² "after a study of four months and a half in a holy place, one should perform the dedicatory rite of the Vedas under the constellation of Puṣyā. Or he should do it in the first part of the first day of the month of Māgha". According to Yājñabalkya Saṃhitā ⁶⁸³ "On a day under the Rohini asterism in the month of Pouṣ or on an Aṣṭaka tithi, one should near water, at the outskirt of a village, duly consecrate one's Vedic studies".

After the Utsarga rite the twice-born ones should study the Vedas in the light fortnight. ⁶⁸⁴ In the dark fortnight a person should study the Vedāṅgas and the Purāṇas. ⁶⁸⁵ According to Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā (Ch. XI.) after the Utsarga rite he shall study the Vedas during the light fortnight and the Vedāṅgas at pleasure. According to Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, ⁶⁸⁶ however,

⁶⁷⁵ I. 142.

⁶⁷⁹ Kātyāyana Saṃhitā XXVII. 17.

⁶⁸¹ XXX. 1-2.

⁶⁸³ I. 143.

⁶⁸⁵ Uśanā III. 58.

⁶⁸⁰ Vaśiṣṭha XI; Kātyāyana XXVII. 17.

⁶⁸² III. 55-57.

⁶⁸⁴ Uśanā III. 57.

⁶⁸⁶ XXX. 3.

the Vedāngas should not be studied between the rites of Utsarga and Upakarman."

The length of the annual term to be spent in Vedic study was thus usually four months and a half,⁶⁸⁷ though the term may be two months,⁶⁸⁸ five months,⁶⁸⁹ five months and a half or six months and a half⁶⁹⁰ and six months⁶⁹¹ in duration.

§ 10. DAYS OF NON-STUDY.

During the academic year there were numerous holidays and interruptions of study. Thus at Upakarman and at Utsarga the Vedas should not be studied for three days.⁶⁹² The study should be stopped for one whole day or night on Amābasyā.⁶⁹³ The Vedas should not be studied on the new moon day;⁶⁹⁴ according to Gautama (Ch. XVI.) for two days from the day of the new moon; on the full moon day;⁶⁹⁵ on the fourteenth day of the two fortnights;⁶⁹⁶ on the eighth day of the two fortnights;⁶⁹⁷ on the twelfth day of the fortnight;⁶⁹⁸ on the day of solar eclipse;⁶⁹⁹ or for three days on the solar eclipse (for brāhmaṇa students);⁷⁰⁰ when the sun is observed to be surrounded by a ring of haloe;⁷⁰¹ on the day of lunar eclipse;⁷⁰² or for three days on the lunar eclipse (for brāhmaṇa students);⁷⁰³ when the moon is observed to be surrounded

⁶⁸⁷ Uśanā III. 56; Viṣṇu XXX. 1; Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁶⁸⁸ Gautama XVI.

⁶⁸⁹ Gautama XVI.

⁶⁹⁰ Sāṅkhyāyana IV. 6, 7; Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁶⁹¹ Ātvalāyana, III. 5, 14.

⁶⁹² Yājñabalkya I. 142; Uśanā III. 71; Vaśiṣṭha XXX. 24-25; Manu IV. 119.

⁶⁹³ Yājñabalkya I. 146; Hārīṭ IV. 71; Uśanā III. 70.

⁶⁹⁴ Vaśiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 113; Sāṅkhyā III. 15; compare Manu IV. 114.

⁶⁹⁵ Yājñabalkya I. 146; Hārīṭ IV. 71; Uśanā III. 70; Sāṅkhyā III. 5; Manu IV. 113; Gautama XVI; compare Manu IV. 111.

⁶⁹⁶ Yājñabalkya I. 146; Uśanā III. 70; Sāṅkhyā III. 5; Vaśiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 113; compare Manu IV. 114.

⁶⁹⁷ Yājñabalkya I. 146; Uśanā III. 70; Sāṅkhyā III. 5; Viṣṇu XXX. 4; Vaśiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 113.

⁶⁹⁸ Hārīṭ IV. 71; Manu IV. 105; Viṣṇu XXX. 5; Sāṅkhyā III. 5; Vaśiṣṭha XI; compare Manu IV. 110.

⁶⁹⁹ Yājñabalkya I. 146.

⁷⁰⁰ Uśanā III. 67.

⁷⁰¹ Gautama XVI; Manu IV. 105; Viṣṇu XXX. 5; Sāṅkhyā III. 5; Vaśiṣṭha XI; compare Manu IV. 110.

⁷⁰² Yājñabalkya I. 146.

⁷⁰³ Uśanā III. 67.

by a ring of haloe;⁷⁰⁴ on the junction of the seasons (i. e., on the Pratipada day of Chaitra, Śrāvaṇa and Agrahāyana);⁷⁰⁵ at the termination of the seasons;⁷⁰⁶ in the unnatural season of the year;⁷⁰⁷ on the Mahānavami day;⁷⁰⁸ on the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha;⁷⁰⁹ on the seventh day of the fortnight in the month of Māgha;⁷¹⁰ on the Rathya Saptamī;⁷¹¹ on the Bharanī;⁷¹² on the Aṣṭakas;⁷¹³ on the birth of the king's son for three days (for brāhmaṇa students only);⁷¹⁴ on the death of the king of one's country;⁷¹⁵ on the day of the hoisting or throwing down of the enemy's standard.⁷¹⁶ It is interesting to follow the reasons assigned for these breaks. Manu says that study in the prohibited lunar days was detrimental to the health of the teacher or of the student and did not conduce to the growth of learning. The first day of the fortnight was considered the most objectionable and we have reference to this in the Rāmāyaṇa⁷¹⁷ where Sītā is described as emaciated 'even as the learning of one who habitually studies on the first day of the fortnight'. Aśoka in his Pillar Inscription V, attaches special importance to these days, on which he forbids the castration of bulls and the killing of fish and

⁷⁰⁴ Gaṇṭama XVI.

⁷⁰⁵ Uśanā III. 71; Viṣṇu XXX. 5.

⁷⁰⁶ Hārīt IV. 71.

⁷⁰⁷ Hārīt IV. 72.

⁷⁰⁸ Hārīt IV. 71.

⁷⁰⁹ Uśanā III. 71; Vaṣiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 113; Compare Manu IV. 114 and IV. 119.

According to Gaṇṭama (Ch. XVI.) one should refrain from studying the Vedas for three nights on the advent of the Aṣṭakas. "According to other authorities" says he (Ch. XVI.) "such prohibition exists only in respect of the last Aṣṭaka".

⁷¹⁰ Uśanā III. 67; Manu IV. 110. In Bhababhūti's Uttara-Rama-Charita Act. IV. (Belvarkar's Eng. Trans., p. 60) we find the pupils of Vālmiki's hermitage delighted at the thought that the royal guests would bring with them a holiday for the school.

⁷¹¹ Gaṇṭama XVI. In the Rāmāyaṇa, (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 48th sarga) we find that all study and śāstric discussions were stopped when Rāma left Ayodhya for Daṇḍakāraṇya forest where he was banished.

⁷¹² Yājñabalkya I. 147.

⁷¹³ Sundarākāṇḍa, LIX. 34: Pratipatpāṭhasāṁ vidyeva tanutām gita.

⁷⁰⁵ Yājñabalkya I. 146.

⁷⁰⁷ Gaṇṭama XVI.

⁷⁰⁹ Hārīt IV. 71.

⁷¹¹ Hārīt IV. 72.

other creatures. We are to seek for an explanation probably in the ritualistic importance of these days, and it was based on the phases of the Moon, as was natural among a people following a luni-solar calendar.

The Vedas should not be studied on the following occasions :—For three days on the death of either a disciple,⁷¹⁸ or a ritwik,⁷¹⁹ or a priest,⁷²⁰ or a preceptor,⁷²¹ or a friend,⁷²² or a śrotriya studying the same branch of the Veda,⁷²³ or a fellow-religious student (Uśanā III. 74; Vaśiṣṭha XI). The Vedas should not be studied on the death of a teacher's son or wife for one day.⁷²⁴ The Vedas should not be studied for one whole day and night when one partakes of food and accepts presents on the occasion of a śrāddha; ⁷²⁵ or when he had touched the leavings of food offered at a śrāddha; ⁷²⁶ and for three days on a brāhmaṇa's accepting invitation for the Ekoddhiṣṭa śrāddha.⁷²⁷ The study should also be stopped during the period of uncleanness incidental to the death of a sapinda or cognate relation; ⁷²⁸ during a period of uncleanness; ⁷²⁹ during birth-uncleanness; ⁷³⁰ during death-uncleanness; ⁷³¹ on the occasion of a śrāddha ceremony (Gautama XVI.); after offering food at a śrāddha; ⁷³² and on the occasion of a friendly feast.⁷³³

The fundamental condition of inspiring thought is peace within oneself and harmony with Nature's forces. Hence when one shall see thunder, lightning, etc., rise in the morning and evening when the sacred fire is lit up, he should not study the Vedas; in any other seasons except the rainy, on seeing a cloud.⁷³⁴ According to Manu,⁷³⁵ however, if these phenomena

⁷¹⁸ Yājñabalkya I. 144.

⁷¹⁹ Yājñabalkya I. 144.

⁷²⁰ Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷²¹ Yājñabalkya I. 144; Uśanā III. 74; Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷²² Yājñabalkya I. 144.

⁷²³ Uśanā III. 74; Yājñabalkya I. 144.

⁷²⁴ Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷²⁵ Yājñabalkya I. 146; Uśanā III. 66; Vaśiṣṭha X; Vaśiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 109; compare Manu, IV. 116 and IV. 117.

⁷²⁶ Uśanā III. 66.

⁷²⁷ Uśanā III. 67; Manu IV. 110.

⁷²⁸ Sāmkyha III. 6.

⁷²⁹ Sāmkyha XV. 24.

⁷³⁰ Manu IV. 112; Gautama XVI.

⁷³¹ Manu IV. 112; Gautama XVI.

⁷³² Vaśiṣṭha X.

⁷³³ Gautama XVI.

⁷³⁴ Uśanā III. 61; Manu IV. 104; compare Uśanā III. 63.

⁷³⁵ IV. 104.

occur at the time of kindling the homa fire in the evening during the rainy season they should not be regarded as occasions of non-study. The finishing of the Veda and the study of the Āraṇyakas should be stopped for one day and night when there is roaring of clouds in the morning and evening.⁷³⁶ When there is an ominous sound in the sky,⁷³⁷ when a downpour of rain takes place accompanied by the flashing of lightning and the roaring of clouds⁷³⁸ the Vedas should not be studied. From the time of rain with thunder and lightning to the next day the Vedas should not be studied.⁷³⁹ When there is an ominous sound in the mountains⁷⁴⁰ or an earthquake⁷⁴¹ or showering of sand⁷⁴² or showering of stones⁷⁴³ or showering of blood⁷⁴⁴ or dropping of fire-brands,⁷⁴⁵ the Vedas should not be studied; nor when luminous bodies fall⁷⁴⁶ nor during the appearance of the magnetic light in the western sky⁷⁴⁷ nor when the muttering of thunder is heard⁷⁴⁸ nor on the descent of thunder-bolts in unnatural seasons of the year⁷⁴⁹ nor on a day covered with mist⁷⁵⁰ nor when purple rainbows are observed to separate the firmament⁷⁵¹ nor when the Sāmans are sung⁷⁵² nor at the two sandhyās⁷⁵³ nor when there is any sound of arrow,⁷⁵⁴ any sound of trumpet,⁷⁵⁵ any sound of drum⁷⁵⁶ nor where the crying

⁷³⁶ Yājñabalkya I. 145; Yājñabalkya I. 149; Sāṃkhya III. 6; Gautama XVI; Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷³⁷ Yājñabalkya I. 145; Uśanā III. 62; Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷³⁸ Uśanā III. 49; Viṣṇu XXX. 8; Gautama XVI.

⁷³⁹ Manu IV. 103.

⁷⁴⁰ Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷⁴¹ Yājñabalkya I. 145; Uśanā III. 62; Sāṃkhya III. 5; Viṣṇu XXX. 9; Manu IV. 105; Gautama XVI; Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷⁴² Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷⁴³ Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷⁴⁴ Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷⁴⁵ Yājñabalkya I. 145; Uśanā III. 49.

⁷⁴⁶ Uśanā III. 62; Sāṃkhya III. 5; Gautama XVI; Vaśiṣṭha XI; Viṣṇu XXX. 9; Manu IV. 103; compare Manu IV. 115.

⁷⁴⁷ Viṣṇu XXX. 9.

⁷⁴⁸ Yājñabalkya I. 199; Vaśiṣṭha XI; Viṣṇu XXX. 8; Uśanā III. 61; Sāṃkhya III. 6; Gautama XVI.

⁷⁴⁹ Gautama XVI.; Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁷⁵⁰ Uśanā III. 70; Gautama XVI.

⁷⁵¹ Gautama XVI.

⁷⁵² Yājñabalkya I. 148; Gautama XVI; Vaśiṣṭha XI; Viṣṇu XXX. 26; Manu IV. 123.

⁷⁵³ Uśanā III. 70.

⁷⁵⁴ Yājñabalkya I. 148; Uśanā III. 70; Vaśiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 113.

⁷⁵⁵ Gautama XVI.

⁷⁵⁶ Gautama XVI.

sound is heard (Uśanā III. 65; Manu IV. 108) nor when the cry of a person in danger is heard ⁷⁵⁷ nor when a king, a śrotriya or a brāhmaṇa has met with an accident ⁷⁵⁸ nor on hearing the sound of weeping in the evening ⁷⁵⁹ nor when hearing the sound of music ⁷⁶⁰ nor when high winds blow ⁷⁶¹ nor on the night when a roaring wind blows ⁷⁶² nor when ominous dust is showered ⁷⁶³ nor on the day when a dusty wind blows (Uśanā III. 59) nor when the quarters are ablaze ⁷⁶⁴ nor at the periods of conjunction ⁷⁶⁵ nor in the evening ⁷⁶⁶ nor in the middle of the night ⁷⁶⁷ nor in the nights (Uśanā III. 71). "Several authorities aver that the study of the Vedas is prohibited during the first three hours and a half of each night". ⁷⁶⁸

The Vedas should not be studied for one whole day and night on a paśu (animals which are 14 in number, viz., cow, sheep, goat, horse, mule, ass and man—these domestic and buffalo, monkey, bear, reptile, ruru-deer, spotted antelope and deer—these wild ones) happening to pass between a student and his preceptor; ⁷⁶⁹ on the passing of a five-toed animal between the pupil and his preceptor; ⁷⁷⁰ on the passing of a toad, a cat, a dog, a snake, mongoose or a mouse between the pupil and his preceptor. ⁷⁷¹ The Vedas should not be studied for one whole day and night when a dog; ⁷⁷² a jackal ⁷⁷³ an ass ⁷⁷⁴ or an owl (Yājñabalkya I. 148) emits a noise and when camels scream. ⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁵⁷ Yājñabalkya I. 148.⁷⁵⁸ Viṣṇu XXX. 23.⁷⁵⁹ Hārīṭ IV. 73.⁷⁶⁰ Sāṃkhya III. 6; Viṣṇu XXX. 13.⁷⁶¹ Yājñabalkya I. 149; Manu IV. 122; Viṣṇu XXX. 7.⁷⁶² Uśanā III. 59. Manu IV. 102.⁷⁶³ Yājñabalkya I. 149; Gautama II.; Manu IV. 102; Manu IV. 115.⁷⁶⁴ Yājñabalkya I. 149; Sāṃkhya III. 6; Gautama XVI; Manu IV. 118.⁷⁶⁵ Yājñabalkya I. 150; Vaśiṣṭha XI.; Manu IV. 113.⁷⁶⁶ Yama Saṃhitā I. 76; compare Ibid., 77.⁷⁶⁷ Yājñabalkya I. 150; Uśanā III. 66; Manu IV. 109.⁷⁶⁸ Gautama XVI.⁷⁶⁹ Yājñabalkya I. 147; Manu IV. 126.⁷⁷⁰ Viṣṇu XXX. 22.⁷⁷¹ Manu IV. 126; compare Gautama I.⁷⁷² Yājñabalkya I. 148; Gautama XVI; Viṣṇu XXX. 12; Manu IV. 115.⁷⁷³ Yājñabalkya I. 148; Gautama XVI; Viṣṇu XXX. 12; Manu IV. 115.⁷⁷⁴ Yājñabalkya I. 148; Gautama XVI; Viṣṇu XXX. 12; Manu IV. 115.⁷⁷⁵ Manu IV. 115.

The Vedas should not be studied in a very loud voice,⁷⁷⁶ in an impure state,⁷⁷⁷ when feeling amative propensities (Sāṃkhya III. 6), when within water,⁷⁷⁸ in a town,⁷⁷⁹ in a forest,⁷⁸⁰ in unwashed mouth after eating,⁷⁸¹ when the hand is yet wet after eating,⁷⁸² after meals,⁷⁸³ where the four roads meet,⁷⁸⁴ by the side of a high road,⁷⁸⁵ near an unholy place,⁷⁸⁶ in a pasture ground,⁷⁸⁷ near a cremation ground,⁷⁸⁸ near a divine temple,⁷⁸⁹ near an unholy object,⁷⁹⁰ seated on an ant-hill,⁷⁹¹ near the side of an ant-hill,⁷⁹² near a Phallic emblem,⁷⁹³ near a dead body,⁷⁹⁴ at places containing carcasses,⁷⁹⁵ at the outskirts of a village (Manu IV. 116), near a śūdra,⁷⁹⁶ near a chaṇḍāla (divakirti),⁷⁹⁷ near a man of degraded caste,⁷⁹⁸ near an impious man,⁷⁹⁹ near a fallen person,⁸⁰⁰ near the performer of a śrāddha ceremony who has not fed the brāhmaṇas with boiled rice,⁸⁰¹ near an irreligious person;⁸⁰² in a village inhabited by low caste people,⁸⁰³ near a troop of soldiers,⁸⁰⁴ and where there is a multitude of men.⁸⁰⁵ The brāhmaṇas should not read the Vedas in a company.⁸⁰⁶ The Vedas should not be studied while fighting or

⁷⁷⁶ Sāṃkhya III. 7.⁷⁷⁷ Yājñabalkya I. 149.⁷⁷⁸ Yājñabalkya I. 150; Uśanā III. 66; Viṣṇu III. 16; Manu IV. 109.⁷⁷⁹ Gautama XVI.⁷⁸⁰ Manu IV. 113.⁷⁸¹ Manu IV. 109.⁷⁸² Yājñabalkya I. 149; Vaśiṣṭha XI.⁷⁸³ Manu IV. 121; Vaśiṣṭha XI.⁷⁸⁴ Viṣṇu XXX. 15.⁷⁸⁵ Viṣṇu XXX. 15; Gautama XVI.⁷⁸⁶ Yājñabalkya I. 148.⁷⁸⁷ Manu IV. 116.⁷⁸⁸ Sāṃkhya III. 7; Gautama XVI; Viṣṇu XXX. 15; Manu IV. 116.⁷⁸⁹ Sāṃkhya III. 7; Viṣṇu III. 15.⁷⁹⁰ Yājñabalkya I. 143.⁷⁹¹ Gautama XVI. ⁷⁹² Sāṃkhya III. 7.⁷⁹³ Sāṃkhya III. 7.⁷⁹⁴ Yājñabalkya I. 149.⁷⁹⁵ Gautama XVI.⁷⁹⁶ Yājñabalkya I. 199; Gautama XVI; Viṣṇu XXX. 14.⁷⁹⁷ Gautama XVI. ⁷⁹⁸ Yājñabalkya I. 148; Viṣṇu XXX. 14.⁷⁹⁹ Manu IV. 108.⁸⁰⁰ Yājñabalkya I. 149.⁸⁰¹ Gautama XVI.⁸⁰² Uśanā III. 65.⁸⁰³ Uśanā III. 65.⁸⁰⁴ Manu IV. 121.⁸⁰⁵ Uśanā III. 65; Manu IV. 107, 108.⁸⁰⁶ Manu IV. 15. Compare :

"Uneven grounds, unsafe and windy spots,
And hiding places and god-haunted shires,
High roads and bridges and all bathing ghats,
These eight avoid when talking of high things."

—Milindā-Paṭha, IV. 1. 8.

wrangling, ⁸⁰⁷ while running, ⁸⁰⁸ while in a state of fright, ⁸⁰⁹ when any fear proceeds either from a king ⁸¹⁰ or a robber or a thief, ⁸¹¹ when there are village disturbances; ⁸¹² in a battle, ⁸¹³ in a camp, ⁸¹⁴ when a bad smell comes; ⁸¹⁵ when a good person arrives at the house, ⁸¹⁶ on the return of a friend from a foreign country, ⁸¹⁷ without taking the permission of the guest in the house; ⁸¹⁸ while going on an ass, ⁸¹⁹ or on a camel, ⁸²⁰ or on a chariot, ⁸²¹ or on an elephant, ⁸²² or on a horse, ⁸²³ or in a boat, ⁸²⁴ or in a carriage; ⁸²⁵ while on a tree, ⁸²⁶ or under the shade of śleśmataka, śālmālī, madhuka, kovidara and kapithwa trees; ⁸²⁷ in a desert; ⁸²⁸ during an indigestion, ⁸²⁹ after a sour rising, ⁸³⁰ while passing excreta, ⁸³¹ after having purged, ⁸³² while rubbing oil, ⁸³³ while passing urine, ⁸³⁴ on the day he has vomited, ⁸³⁵ while bathing, ⁸³⁶ while he leaps, ⁸³⁷ while leaning against something; ⁸³⁸ on seeing a dead body carried, ⁸³⁹ in a town where a corpse lies, ⁸⁴⁰ in a town where chandālas live (Vasiṣṭha XI), on seeing a dead body placed on earth; ⁸⁴¹ while lying down, ⁸⁴² while seated with a leg cocked

⁸⁰⁷ Manu IV. 121.⁸⁰⁸ Yājñabalkya I. 150; Vasiṣṭha XI.⁸⁰⁹ Gautama XVI.⁸¹⁰ Manu IV. 118.⁸¹¹ Yājñabalkya I. 110; Manu IV. 118.⁸¹² Sāṃkhya III. 6.⁸¹³ Manu IV. 121; Viṣṇu XXX. 11.⁸¹⁴ Vasiṣṭha XI.⁸¹⁵ Yājñabalkya I. 150; Uśanā III. 64; Gautama XVI; Vasiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 107.⁸¹⁶ Yājñabalkya I. 150.⁸¹⁷ Gautama XVI.⁸¹⁸ Manu IV. 122.⁸¹⁹ Yājñabalkya I. 151; Manu IV. 120.⁸²⁰ Yājñabalkya I. 151; Manu IV. 120; Viṣṇu XXX. 17.⁸²¹ Yājñabalkya I. 151.⁸²² Viṣṇu XXX. 17; Manu IV. 120.⁸²³ Yājñabalkya I. 151; Viṣṇu XXX. 17; Manu IV. 120.⁸²⁴ Yājñabalkya I. 151; Vasiṣṭha XI; Viṣṇu XXX. 17; Manu IV. 120.⁸²⁵ Gautama XVI; Viṣṇu XXX. 17; Manu IV. 120.⁸²⁶ Yājñabalkya I. 151; Vasiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 120.⁸²⁷ Uśanā III. 73.⁸²⁸ Yājñabalkya I. 151.⁸²⁹ Viṣṇu XXX. 21; Manu IV. 121.⁸³⁰ Manu IV. 121.⁸³¹ Uśanā III. 62; Gautama XVI; Vasiṣṭha XI; Manu IV. 109.⁸³² Viṣṇu XXX. 20.⁸³³ Hārīṭ IV. 72.⁸³⁴ Manu IV. 109; Uśanā III. 66; Gautama XVI; Vasiṣṭha XI.⁸³⁵ Viṣṇu XXX. 19; Manu IV. 121; Gautama XVI; Vasiṣṭha XI.⁸³⁶ Hārīṭ IV. 72.⁸³⁷ Vasiṣṭha XI.⁸³⁸ Vasiṣṭha XI.⁸³⁹ Hārīṭ IV. 73.⁸⁴⁰ Vasiṣṭha XI; Viṣṇu XXX. 10; Manu IV. 108.⁸⁴¹ Hārīṭ IV. 73.⁸⁴² Uśanā III. 79; Manu IV. 112.

up, ⁸⁴³ while seated by placing the soles of the feet on the seat, ⁸⁴⁴ while stretching his feet out, ⁸⁴⁵ while sitting on his haunches, ⁸⁴⁶ while sitting with a cloth girt round the legs and knees, ⁸⁴⁷ and while taking food rendered impure by birth or death. ⁸⁴⁸ As long as the scent and paste dedicated at the Ekoddhiṣṭa śrāddha exist on the person of a learned brāhmaṇa, he should not study the Vedas. ⁸⁴⁹ The Vedas should not be studied after bleeding from any part of the body ⁸⁵⁰ and after a cut from a weapon. Thus we see that "the impurity of the place of Vedic study and personal uncleanness of the reader—these two are the permanent causes of non-study." ⁸⁵¹

On the Aṣṭaka day, when a high wind blows or in any other calamity, a twice-born one should study one R̥k or one Yajus or one Sāma mantram. ⁸⁵² "There is no prohibition in respect of reading the allied branches of Vedic study such as Prosody, Grammar, etc., or in respect of the homa mantras or in respect of that portion of the Veda which should be read each day (i. e., the sandhyā mantras) during the period in which the study of the Vedas is ordinarily prohibited. ⁸⁵³ "There is no prohibition as regards the study of the Vedāṅgas, of the Itihāses and the Purāṇas, or of the Dharmaśāstras and other works; but a twice-born one should abstain from studying all these on the Parva days (i. e., on the full moon, the last day of the dark night, and the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha)". ⁸⁵⁴ According to Vyāsa Saṃhitā ⁸⁵⁵ on the interdicted days subjects collateral to the Vedas should be studied with the preceptor's permission. "For the six months when the sun is in the southern solstice, a wise man should not study the subsequent mysterious subjects and the Upaniṣads." ⁸⁵⁶

§ 11. CLASSES OF TEACHERS.

There were three classes of teachers—the guru, the āchārya and the upādhyāya. He is called guru who, having performed all the rites

⁸⁴³ Gautama XVI.

⁸⁴⁴ Uśanā III. 69; Viṣṇu XXX. 18.

⁸⁴⁵ Vaśiṣṭha XI.

⁸⁴⁶ Manu IV. 112.

⁸⁴⁷ Uśanā III. 69.

⁸⁴⁸ Uśanā III. 69.

⁸⁴⁹ Uśanā III. 68; Manu IV. 111.

⁸⁵⁰ Manu IV. 122.

⁸⁵¹ Manu IV. 127.

⁸⁵² Uśanā III. 77.

⁸⁵³ Manu II. 105.

⁸⁵⁴ Uśanā III. 98.

⁸⁵⁵ I. 38.

⁸⁵⁶ Kātyāyana Saṃhitā XXXVIII. 2.

(beginning with *garvadhānam*) delivers instructions in the Vedas.⁸⁵⁷ He is called *āchārya* who teaches the Vedas after having performed only the ceremony of *upanayanam*.⁸⁵⁸ According to *Manu*⁸⁵⁹ and *Vyāsa*⁸⁶⁰ *Samhitās* "a *brāhmaṇa* who practises penitential austerities and performs the rite of *homa* every day and teaches the Vedas with their *Kalpas* (the branch of Vedic literature which deals with ceremonials and the celebration of religious sacrifices) and *Rahasyas* (the transcendental truths inculcated in the *Upaniṣads*) is called an *āchārya*." "He is called *upādhyāya* who teaches only a portion of the Vedas;"⁸⁶¹ "one who teaches the *Angas* of the Vedas is also an *upādhyāya*."⁸⁶² According to *Viṣṇu Samhitā*⁸⁶³ "he who teaches an entire Veda in consideration of fees or a portion of the Veda without fees is called an *upādhyāya*." According to *Sāṃkhya Samhitā*⁸⁶⁴ "one who gives lessons in the Vedas for money is an *upādhyāya*." *Manu*⁸⁶⁵ says: "He who in consideration of fees, teaches a portion of the Veda and any of the *Vedāṅgas* is said to be an *upādhyāya*."

§12. TEACHING—THE MONOPOLY OF THE BRAHMIN?

In course of time teaching the Vedas came to be the exclusive duty of the *brāhmaṇa*. In the *Hārīt*,⁸⁶⁶ *Atri*⁸⁶⁷ and *Manu Samhitās*⁸⁶⁸ where the duties of the four castes are enumerated we find that the *brāhmaṇas* alone are entitled to give instructions in the Vedas. *Manu*⁸⁶⁹ explicitly says: "The *brāhmaṇas* alone shall teach the Vedas and none else, this is the conclusion." In another place he says: "Teaching the Vedas, etc., shall never revert to the *kṣatriya* as against the *brāhmaṇa*;"⁸⁷⁰ "nor to the *vaiśya* as against the *brāhmaṇa*."⁸⁷¹ "Rather should the *kṣatriya* in distress live by following the low trades, but under no circumstances should he embrace the vocation of a *brāhmaṇa*."⁸⁷² According to *Manu*⁸⁷³ his law-code should be taught in its entirety

⁸⁵⁷ *Yājñabalkya* I. 34.

⁸⁵⁸ II. 140.

⁸⁵⁹ *Vaśiṣṭha* III.

⁸⁶⁰ II. 141.

⁸⁶¹ I. 88-91.

⁸⁶² *Manu* X. 77.

⁸⁶³ *Manu* X. 95. Compare *Manu* X. 96-97.

⁸⁶⁴ *Yājñabalkya* I. 34; *Vaśiṣṭha* III; *Viṣṇu* XXIX. 1.

⁸⁶⁵ IV. 43.

⁸⁶⁶ XXIX. 2.

⁸⁶⁷ I. 18.

⁸⁶⁸ X. 1.

⁸⁶⁹ *Manu* X. 78.

⁸⁷⁰ *Manu* X. 96-97.

⁸⁶¹ *Yājñabalkya* I. 35; *Vaśiṣṭha* III.

⁸⁶² III. 1.

⁸⁶³ I. 13-15.

⁸⁷³ I. 103.

by an erudite brāhmaṇa and not by a member of any other caste. In the Mahābhārata⁸⁷⁴ Viṣṇu says to Yudhiṣṭhir "Begging, officiating as a priest and teaching are strictly forbidden in the case of a kṣatriya." Alberuni⁸⁷⁵ says: "The brāhmaṇas teach the Vedas to the kṣatriyas. The latter learn it, but are not allowed to teach it, not even to a brāhmaṇa. The vaiśya and the śūdra are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce and recite it." According to Atri Samhitā⁸⁷⁶ giving instructions in the Vedas would outcaste the kṣatriya and the vaiśya.

But these rules forbidding non-brāhmaṇas to teach and the injunction of Angīras Samhitā⁸⁷⁷ that acquiring knowledge from a śūdra would degrade even one burning with Brahma energy indirectly prove that non-brāhmaṇa teachers were not altogether rare. This is corroborated by other evidences from Gautama and Manu Samhitās. "In times of distress a brāhmaṇa student may take lessons from a non-brāhmaṇa teacher and he shall serve his guru only so long as he shall actually study."⁸⁷⁸ "Wishing the most exalted existence (*i. e.*, liberation of the self) after death, let not a brāhmaṇa student live for good in the house of his non-brāhmaṇa preceptor".⁸⁷⁹ "Women (wives), gems, *knowledge*, virtue, purity, good words (counsels) and *the various kinds of arts* may be acquired from anywhere."⁸⁸⁰ Again, teaching sciences other than the Vedas is mentioned by Manu as one of the ten means of livelihood in times of distress for men of all castes.⁸⁸¹ Gautama Samhitā⁸⁸² says: "In times of distress a brāhmaṇa may learn an art and a science from a non-brāhmaṇa teacher and he should serve and follow the preceptor until the close of his study." Again, the injunction of Manu that "the king shall learn from the people the theory of the various trades and professions" seems to imply that in secular subjects like Vārttā, others besides brāhmaṇas may be called in to give instruction to the young princes and this seems probable also in the matter of military skill. Viśwāmitra

⁸⁷⁴ Śāntiparva, 60th adhyāya.

⁸⁷⁵ Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. I., p. 123.

⁸⁷⁷ Śloka 49.

⁸⁸⁰ Manu II. 240

⁸⁷⁶ Manu II. 241.

⁸⁸¹ Manu X. 116.

⁸⁷⁸ II. 20.

⁸⁷⁹ Manu II. 242.

⁸⁸² VII.

thus gave to Rāma a training in the use of missiles and weapons.⁸⁸³ It is needless to point out that technical education was mostly imparted by non-brāhmaṇas, so that the prohibition of teaching by non-brāhmaṇas seems to be confined only to sacredotal knowledge.

§ 13. TUITION FEE.

All the time the pupil was under instruction the teacher was not to receive any fee. The Mahābhārata⁸⁸⁴ condemns teaching for pay and even goes so far as to hold that "those who accept remuneration for teaching are designated as equal to a śūdra."⁸⁸⁵ Manu⁸⁸⁶ says: "Let not a virtuous Vedic student pay any (money) to his preceptor ere he returns from his house after finishing his career." Viṣṇu⁸⁸⁷ says: "He who having acquired knowledge sells it for a living in this world, shall derive no benefit from it in the next." Indeed to teach in consideration of fees was looked upon as an upapātaka (minor sin).⁸⁸⁸ Receiving lessons on payment of a fee was similarly looked upon as an upapātaka.⁸⁸⁹ According to Vyāsa Saṃhitā⁸⁹⁰ mercenary teaching of the Vedas rank equally with an act of brahminicide in respect of sin. According to Manu⁸⁹¹ and Uśanā⁸⁹² Saṃhitās both he who studies the Vedas by paying fees and he who gives instructions on receiving fees should be studiously avoided on the occasion of a śrāddha ceremony. Uśanā⁸⁹³ calls them as vṛttakas while Manu⁸⁹⁴ asks all good and erudite brāhmaṇas to avoid these vile and condemnable persons. In Mālavikāgnimitra⁸⁹⁵ we are told: "He whose learning is merely for a livelihood, is called a trader that traffics in knowledge." Indeed teaching for money was allowed as a means of livelihood only in times of extreme distress.⁸⁹⁶ King Amar Śakti wanted to pay Viṣṇuśarmā

⁸⁸³ Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 27th and 28th sargas.

⁸⁸⁴ Śāntiparva, 260th adhyāya.

⁸⁸⁵ Anuśāsanaparva, 135th adhyāya.

⁸⁸⁶ II. 245.

⁸⁸⁷ XXX. 39.

⁸⁸⁸ Viṣṇu XXXVII. 20 and 34; Yājñabalkya III. 236, 242.

⁸⁸⁹ Viṣṇu XXXVII. 21, 34; Yājñabalkya III. 236, 242.

⁸⁹⁰ IV. 70.

⁸⁹¹ III. 156.

⁸⁹² IV. 24.

⁸⁹³ IV. 24.

⁸⁹⁴ III. 167.

⁸⁹⁵ M. R. Kale's Eng. Trans., p. 12.

⁸⁹⁶ Yājñabalkya III. 42.

"śata-śāsana" for teaching his ill-behaved sons, whereupon the spirited brāhmaṇa replied : "Nāhaṃ śāsana śatenāpi vidyā-vikrayaṃ kariṣyāmi".

When, however, the course was completed the pupil performed certain bathing ceremonies and "after having bathed with the permission of his guru he was to pay him an honorarium according to his pecuniary circumstances."⁸⁹⁷ This honorarium was a mere symbol of the respect on the part of the pupil to his teacher. Vājasenīya Saṃhitā⁸⁹⁸ says : "Dakṣhiṇā śraddhāṃ dadāti, śraddhaya āpyati jñānam." "A plot of land, gold, a cow, a horse, an umbrella, a pair of shoes, paddy, vegetables, clothes or whatever he is capable of giving him, with that he shall evoke the pleasure of his preceptor."⁸⁹⁹ Thus we see that in return for the knowledge acquired from him, the student can give to his preceptor a few vegetables if his worldly circumstances do not admit of giving any other (more costly) thing. At the same time a gift, however precious or costly, was considered no adequate return for the benefit which a preceptor accords to his pupil. Laghu Hārīta says : "There is no such thing in this world, by giving which a pupil can discharge his debt to a teacher, who has taught him no more than a single letter of the alphabet." In the case of technical education, however, we have instances of fees being paid by the apprentices to teachers. Thus in the Jātakas⁹⁰⁰ we find that two merchant-sons paid 2000 pieces each.

At Taxila, the students were usually admitted on payment in advance of the entire tuition fees. A fixed sum seems to have been specified for the purpose amounting to 1,000 pieces of money.⁹⁰¹ In lieu of paying the fees in cash, a student was allowed to pay them in the shape of services to his teacher.⁹⁰² To this class apparently belonged the majority of the students who attended on their teacher by day, and received instruction at night. We read of a school of five hundred brāhmaṇa pupils whose duties were among others, to gather fire-wood from the forests for their teacher.⁹⁰³

⁸⁹⁷ Manu II. 245.

⁸⁹⁸ 19, 30.

⁸⁹⁹ IV. 224, 225, 38, 39.

⁹⁰⁰ Compare-Milindā Pañha VI. 71.

⁹⁰¹ Manu II. 246.

⁹⁰² Jātaka I. 272, 283 ; IV. 50, 224 etc.

⁹⁰³ Jātaka I. 317-318.

Sometimes a student would prefer to devote his whole time to studies without sparing any time for such services or menial work, while at the same time he was too poor to be able to pay the teacher's fees in cash in advance. In such a case the student was trusted to pay the fees after the completion of his studies. We read of one such student, a brāhmaṇa boy of Benares, who, after completing his education at Taxila, paid his teacher's fees by begging for them in distant countries beyond the Ganges.

Where students were unable to pay the teacher's fee in any of the several ways aforesaid, a charitable community often came forward to provide for them a free education. We read of 'a teacher of world-wide fame at Benares' who had in his school five hundred young brāhmaṇa pupils. The difficulty of maintaining such a school was removed by the generosity of the Benares folk who used "to give day by day commons of food to the poor lads and had them taught free". The cost of education was also to some extent taken over from the teachers and the taught by the occasional invitations to dinner extended to them by philanthropic householders. We read of a school of five hundred students being invited to take meals by a country-family at Taxila and of a similar entertainment given by an entire village.⁹⁰⁴

There was again another class of students who paid the teacher's fees from the scholarships awarded to them by the states to which they belonged. Generally such students would be sent as companions of the princes of their respective countries who were deputed to Taxila for education. We read of the sons of the royal chaplains of the courts of Benares and Rājagaha accompanying their respective princes to Taxila. Cases, however, are not wanting of students being sent on their own account for higher studies to Taxila at the expense of the State. Thus we read of a Brahmin boy of Benares, being sent by the King at his expense to Taxila for the purpose of specialising in the science of archery.⁹⁰⁵

⁹⁰⁴ Jātaka I. 239; I. 317; III. 171.

⁹⁰⁵ Jātaka V. 263; III. 238 and V. 247; V. 127.

§ 14. QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED OF THE TEACHER.

The teacher was generally called "guru" which means 'heavy' or 'great' and he was to be really great in learning and moral conduct. He was also called "āchārya" which comes from the word "char" to behave and means 'one who trains up others in good behaviour' (āchāraṃ grāhayati iti āchāryaḥ); it is also taken by some to mean the source of all religion (dharmam āchinoti iti āchāryaḥ). In either sense the teacher was expected to train up the pupils in good behaviour, the essence of religion, and naturally to possess those qualities himself. "This truth is not grasped when taught by an inferior man" says the Kathopaniṣad.⁹⁰⁶ The Muṇḍakopaniṣad⁹⁰⁷ asks the teacher to be a śrotriya (i. e., one whose ancestors had been Vedic scholars for at last three generations) and brahmaniṣṭha (dwelling entirely in the Brahman). Various descriptions are met with in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata of celebrated gurus like Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Sandipani, Droṇa, Paraśurāma and Kaṇva and they are said to be vastly learned men of ideal character, quite contented with their lot, free from all worldly hankerings and respected even by kings who put their sons under them for instruction. Of course every teacher could not be like them but he was expected to possess these qualities.

The Pratiśākhya⁹⁰⁸ of the Rgveda gives us some idea of the intellectual qualifications of a teacher: 'he must himself have passed through the recognised curriculum and have fulfilled all the duties of the brahmachārin, before he is allowed to become a teacher'. Moreover, the success in debate⁹⁰⁹ was also necessary to make one's name known to the public as being well-versed in learning. In the Upaniṣads we have a further list of the qualifications expected of a teacher. He was to come of a family of Vedic teachers and be intent on the acquisition of the highest experience. He must work heart and soul and be like a parent unto his disciples. He must add the force of his example to the influence of precept. "As one acts, he becomes, good by good deeds, bad by evil; what action he performs, into that

⁹⁰⁶ I. 2, 8.

⁹⁰⁷ I. 2, 12.

⁹⁰⁸ Ch. XV.

⁹⁰⁹ Compare Rgveda X. 71.

does he become changed".⁹¹⁰ He should conceal nothing from his pupil if he had stayed with him for a year. He should impress the essential points and impart true knowledge after making sure of the earnestness and the level of intelligence of the pupil, and satisfying himself as to his character. In one of the Upaniṣads we are introduced to the sage Pippalāda who asks his questioners to spend a year with him in austerity, purity and single-minded devotion to knowledge. The teacher was to be remarkable for his humility. He should answer the questions put 'if he had the knowledge needed.' When five brāhmaṇas came to Uddālaka Āruṇi to learn Vaiśvānara-vidyā Āruṇi, diffident as to the fullness of his knowledge of the subject asked them to go to King Aśwapati Kaikeya. Thus there was no idea of palming off false knowledge as true, or posing as an authority on matters outside the direct range of one's own study and experience. It is a part of the valedictory address of the teacher to his disciple, that the latter should listen with respect and veneration to those who were greater than the former and that the teacher's example might be followed only in so far as his conduct was above reproach.⁹¹¹

The individual skill in communicating one's knowledge to others was recognised to distinguish between teachers and teachers. In the Sabhā-parva⁹¹² of the Mahābhārata we are told that Devarṣi Nārada alone really knew the method of imparting instruction to pupils. In Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra we find that when a dispute arose about the superiority in knowledge between two teachers of the dramatic art, Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta, Paribrajikā suggested that the decision be arrived at by practical display of teaching. In this connection we find the following observations :—

"The acceptance of an unpromising pupil shows a want of *discernment* on the part of the teacher."⁹¹³

"The *skill* of a teacher when imparted to a worthy object attains greater excellence, as the water of a cloud when dropping into a sea-shell, acquires the state of (is converted into) a pearl."⁹¹⁴

⁹¹⁰ Brhad. Up., III. 88; IV. 1; VI. 3. 12; Chāndogya Up., III. 1, 5; Śvet. Up., VI. 22.

⁹¹¹ Praśna Up., I. 1.; Taitt. Up., I. 11.

⁹¹² Mālavikāgnimitra, M. R. Kale's Eng. Trans., p. 11.

⁹¹³ 5th adhyāya.

⁹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

"If you do not permit me who am now desirous of showing in the present contest, my *power of imparting instruction*, then (I must say) I am given up by you."⁹¹⁵

"Then exhibit, both of you, your *skill* in instruction."⁹¹⁶

"Your Majesty will, therefore, kindly tell me in what subject-matter of dramatic representation I shall show my *ability* to impart instruction."⁹¹⁷

"Every person, though well-educated, has not the *skill* to impart instruction to others."⁹¹⁸

"One man is at his best when exhibiting his art in person; another has as his special qualification the power of *communicating his skill*; he who possesses both (these excellences) should be placed at the head of teachers."⁹¹⁹

Here we clearly see the recognition of the teacher's skill as an independent art.

That some of these equipments were thought necessary for a teacher would be evident from the fact that students after finishing their education in the house of the preceptor were under an obligation to teach and thus transmit learning from age to age. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka⁹²⁰ says: "Naprabaktre," "Do not teach one who will not himself teach". In the Bower manuscript which is really a collection of two manuscripts we have a portion called Nābanitaka in which the instructions at the beginning say that 'it should not be taught to anyone who has no disciple.'⁹²¹ In the Taittiriya Upaniṣad⁹²² learning and teaching the Vedas are both enjoined on the pupil. In another passage of the same Upaniṣad⁹²³ the student is asked, after finishing his education in his preceptor's house not to neglect the learning and the 'teaching' of the Veda.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

⁹²⁰ III. 2. 6.

⁹²¹ India and Centra Asia—Dr. Nirañjana Prāsāda Chakravartī, pp. 41-42.

⁹²² I. 9.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid.

⁹²³ I. 11.

⁹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

⁹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

Many European Indologists have spoken of the fine genius of the ancient Indian teacher; of them Mr. F. W. Thomas says: "What was taught was well taught and the attainments of the Hindus were not inferior to those of any ancient nation, or to those of European scholars prior to the Renaissance". Moreover, it was in moral and religious qualifications that the Hindu teacher stood worthy of the name. His plain-living, high-thinking, disciplined routine, abstinence from pleasures, mental control and above all, his sincerity of purpose were the principal factors in the success of his work. Such qualities could never fail to command respect from any body; they were a living model for the pupils to follow and carried the lion's share in the creditable educational results when there was no state-organisation for education. The Jesuits offer a fine comparison. Both were devoted, religious, learned and disciplined body of men. Both produced good results in their own spheres. Both imparted religious and secular knowledge and were respected wherever they went. The latter however kept no household and lived celibate lives, in which respects the Buddhist monk had much in common with them. These very conditions of life were the cause of those defects and artificialities which ultimately led to the decline of both the Jesuits and the Buddhist monks, when the individual fervour, sincerity and virtue were on the wane. On the other hand, the Hindu teacher kept his household, enjoyed his simple family-life and at the same time abstained from throwing himself headlong into intemperate worldly pleasures. He managed his own school except in the case of a large institution where many like him worked under a kulapati. Of the three the ancient Hindu institution appears to be the most natural and lasting, though the least dazzling.

§ 15. METHOD OF TEACHING.

The actual teaching was to proceed in the following manner, "A brahmachārin, having quitted his bed early in the morning and having bathed and performed the homa should accost self-controlled, his preceptor. Then having been commanded by his preceptor and having cast a look at his face, he should commence the study of the Vedas".⁹²⁴ Before reading the Vedas he must put off his shoes.⁹²⁵

⁹²⁴ Sāṃkhya Saṃhitā III, 2-3.

⁹²⁵ Āpastamba Saṃhitā IX, 20.

The study commenced in the last watch of the night⁹²⁶ after which the student was not to sleep again.⁹²⁷ For the purpose of studying the Vedas, the student self-controlled, clad in a light garment, looking towards the north shall do the āchamanam, and unite his palms in the manner of brahmāñjali, after which lessons should be given to him.⁹²⁸ At the commencement and at the close of his Vedic study, a student shall catch hold of the feet of his preceptor.⁹²⁹ With his arms parallelly outstretched, he shall make obeisance unto his preceptor, by touching his (preceptor's) right foot with the right and his left foot with the left hand of his own.⁹³⁰ The preceptor then free from idleness, shall take hold of the small finger of the pupil's left hand and shall address him as "O you read now".⁹³¹ Then the pupil should touch his eyes, ears and the regions of his life and intellect with a blade of kuśa grass and shall purify his body by three prāṇāyāmas consisting of fifteen mātṛās (*i. e.*, lasting for a time necessary to utter fifteen short vowels).⁹³² "After this he shall utter the Praṇava,"⁹³³ for, "Praṇava (*i. e.*, Om or Omkāra) not uttered at the commencement leads to the destruction of the reading".⁹³⁴ "Sitting on a cushion previously spread out, he should recite five or seven vyāpṛitis preceded by the Praṇava, each morning at the commencement of Vedic study."⁹³⁵ He should make formally obeisance to his preceptor; and seated on his right, with his face turned towards the north or to the east, he should recite the Gāyatri,⁹³⁶ and the Praṇava mantra (Om) after the recitation of the Gāyatri.⁹³⁷ Placing the two hands firmly on the two thighs, with the permission of the preceptor he should begin his course. He should not have his mind strayed away (to any other subject).⁹³⁸

⁹²⁶ Manu IV. 99; Viṣṇu XXX. 27.

⁹²⁷ Manu IV. 99; Viṣṇu XXX. 27.

⁹²⁸ Manu II. 71; Viṣṇu XXX. 32.

⁹²⁹ Manu II. 73; Gautama, Ch. I.

⁹³⁰ Manu II. 75; Gautama, Ch. I.

⁹³¹ Manu II. 75.

⁹³² Manu II. 74.

⁹³³ Gautama, Ch. I; Sambarta Saṃhitā, §1. 9.

⁹³⁴ Sambarta Saṃhitā, §1. 10.

⁹³⁵ Manu II. 70.

⁹³⁶ Manu II. 72.

⁹³⁷ Gautama, Ch. I.

⁹³⁸ Gautama, Ch. I.

The fifteenth chapter of the *Prātisākhya* of the *Rgveda* gives in brief the method of teaching that was in vogue in those early times. 'At the beginning of each lecture the pupils embrace'³³ the feet of their teacher and say "Read sir." The teacher says "Om" and then pronounces two words or if it is a compound, one. When the teacher has pronounced one word or two, the first pupil repeats the first word; but if there is anything that requires explanation, the pupil says "Sir;" and after it has been explained to him, the teacher says "Om." In this manner they go on till they have finished a *praśna* (question) which consists of three verses, or if they are verses of more than 40 to 42 syllables, of two verses. If they are *paṃkti* verses of 40 to 42 syllables each, a *praśna* may comprise either two or three; and if a hymn consists of one verse only, that is supposed to form a *praśna*. After the *praśna* is finished, they have all to repeat it once more, and then to go on learning it by heart, pronouncing every syllable with high accent. After the teacher has first told a *praśna* to his pupil on the right, the others go round him to the right and this goes on till the whole *adhyāya* or lecture is finished, a lecture generally consisting of 60 *praśnas*. At the end of the last half-verse, the teacher says "Om," and the pupil replies "Om," repeating also the verses required at the end of a lecture.' "The pupils then embrace the feet of their teacher."³⁴

The teacher probably used to give a general idea of the subject to the pupils either at the commencement or at the end of its study. This is illustrated by a well-known story about *Vyāsa*. He had four disciples—*Vaiśāmpāyana*, *Sumantu*, *Paila* and *Jaimini*. To each of them, he explained the comprehensive view of each of the *Vedas*.

The reading lesson was followed by instruction (*viddhi*) and explanation (*arthavāda*). In '*viddhi*' the teacher showed the pupils the acts and actions to be actually performed during the ritual ceremony described in the text; and in '*arthavāda*' the meaning of the sentences was made clear. We cannot say what this explanation amounted to in the earliest times but when other subjects and sciences arose,

³³ *Sambarta Saṃhitā*, śl. 10; *Manu* II. 71; *Viṣṇu* XXX. 32.

³⁴ *Manu* II. 71; *Viṣṇu* XXX. 32.

explanation must have been given a very large place. We are told in the *Uśanā Saṃhitā*⁹⁴¹: "This foremost of the twice-born one should not be satisfied with merely reading the Vedas. The mere recitation of the Vedas becomes useless like a cow in mire. He who studying duly the Veda, does not *discuss* (*i. e.*, masters) the Vedānta, becomes like a śūdra with his entire family. And he is not entitled to have water for washing his feet." *Dakṣa Saṃhitā*⁹⁴² says: "The first is the admission (of the superiority) of the Vedas; then *discussion* (on the Vedas); then the study; then the recitation (of the Vedas); and then the deliverance of instructions unto disciples. This is the five-fold practice of the Vedas." As a matter of fact we find that as the systems of philosophy arose, for the full understanding of the text, a three-fold explanation was given: (1) Pada or word, (2) Vākya or sentence, (3) Pramāṇa or argument. To make the student understand the word, grammatical notes were given; to make the meaning of the sentence clear to him, the relations of words, phrases and parts therein were shown by filling up gaps or supplying ellipses and by explaining allusions. Lastly, the idea of the passage was made clear by setting forth the argument as explicitly as possible and by relating it to the previous as well as to the following points. Hence one well-versed in the text was called 'Pada-vākya-pramāṇagña,' 'proficient in the three parts.'

It is interesting to find that the explanation of the text was almost on the same lines as at present. According to *Vāchaspatimiśra*⁹⁴³ the *adhyayana* (the hearing of words), *śabda* (apprehension of meaning), *uha* (reasoning leading to generalisation), *suhṛtprāpti* (confirmation by a friend or teacher), and *dāna* (application) are the five steps for

⁹⁴¹ Śi. 81-82.

⁹⁴² II. 27.

⁹⁴³ Quoted by *Mahāmahopādhyāya C. K. Tarkalāṅkāra* in his "Lectures on Hindu Philosophy (1st year) pp. 299-301.

the realisation of the meaning of a religious truth. Curiously enough these steps correspond wholly with those of Dewey. In his book "How we think" he gives the following steps:—

- (1) A problem and its location (adhyayana and śabda).
- (2) Suggested solutions and selection of a solution (uha and suhṛtprāpti).
- (3) Action (application) [dāna].

The following śloka gives steps similar to those of the Herbertians:—

"Śuśruṣā śrabaṇaṁchaiba grahaṇaṁ dhāraṇaṁ tathā

Uhapohārta bijñānaṁ tatvajñānaṁcha dhigunaḥ."

—Kāmandakī.

Dhiguna includes the following qualities:—(1) śuśruṣā (desire to listen), (2) śrabaṇaṁ (act or process of hearing) (3) grahaṇaṁ (accepting, taking in), (4) dhāraṇaṁ (digestion of what has been taken in) (5) uhapoha (discussion) (6) arthavijñānaṁ (grasping the correct sense) (7) tatvajñānaṁ (knowledge of profound truth).

The western method of lecturing to advanced students was unknown to the teachers of Brahminic schools but free discussions with the teacher, questions and answers from either side, concrete illustrations and references to the practical details of daily life, allowing some discount for the dogmatic mysticism of the sacred texts—form a clear evidence of the rational method of education obtaining in those times. Indeed, the Upaniṣads often fall into the form of a dialogue,⁹⁴⁴ which shows that the method of teaching was catechetical, like that of explaining a subject by an intelligent and graduated series of questions and answers which is associated with the great Greek teacher Socrates. In the Mahābhārata (specially in the Śānti and Anuśāsana parbas) we find how the method of teaching through questions and answers was resorted

⁹⁴⁴ Dīptabalaki—Gargya and Ajātaśatru in Bṛhad. Up., II. 1; Yājñabalkya and Maitreyi in Bṛhad. Up., 2. 4; Yājñabalkya and Janaka in Bṛhad. Up., 1.5; IV. 3; Janasruti and Raikava in Chāndogya Up., IV. 1-3; Uddālaka Āruṇi and the five great householders in Chāndogya Up., 11-23; Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and his father in Chāndogya Up., VI; Nārada and Sanatkumāra in Chāndogya Up., VII; Viṣṇu Varuṇi and his father in Taittirīya Up., III. 1-8; Nachiketas and his father in Katha. Up., II.

to by Viṣṇu, Sanatsujāta and Bidur. The pupil asked questions (there is no lack of boldness in some of these questions);⁹⁴⁵ and the teacher discoursed at length on the topics referred to him (e. g., in the Kena and Kaṭha Upaniṣads). In these discourses are found utilised all the familiar devices of oral teaching such as apt illustrations,⁹⁴⁶ stories⁹⁴⁷ and parables.⁹⁴⁸

It is not to be understood that these discourses leave nothing for the pupil to think out for himself. Manu says :

“Āchāryat pādāmādatte pādām śiṣyāḥ swamedhayā
Pādām sabrahmachāribhyaḥ pādām kālakrameṇa tu.”

“The student learns only a fourth part from his teacher, a fourth by self-study, a fourth from his fellows, and the last fourth by experience in after life” Indeed the need for introspection and contemplation, on the part of the student, is never overlooked. Manana or cogitation, as a means of convincing oneself of the truth of what he has learnt and thus fortifying himself against possible future doubts, is specially prescribed. Even as regards the initial teaching it is usual for the preceptor to furnish only broad hints and ask the pupil to work them out fully. The most interesting instance of this method of teaching is found in the Tattiriya Upaniṣad (III) where Varuṇa while instructing his son Vṛgu, contents himself with indicating only in general terms the features of the Absolute and leaves to his son the discovery by reflection of His exact content. This method of giving general hints and directions is repeated four times and it is only on the fifth occasion that Vṛgu is able to comprehend the nature of the Absolute.

A spirit of enquiry and criticism was expected and encouraged. The aspirants for learning were asked to put questions *ad libitum*.⁹⁴⁹ The Tamil Nannul⁹⁵⁰ emphasises the need for discrimination and reflection in the student and appreciates spontaneity and originality :

‘The swan, the cow, the earth, the parrot, the pot with holes,
The browsing goat, the buffalo, the straining fibre ;
These, the first, the middle sort, and the last, of scholars shadow forth.’

⁹⁴⁵ Compare Praśṇa, III. 2.

⁹⁴⁶ Praśṇa, II.

⁹⁴⁷ Kaṭha.

⁹⁴⁸ Kena III.

⁹⁴⁹ Yathā Kāmam praśṇān prabhata in Praśnopaniṣad.

⁹⁵⁰ Quoted by S. V. Venkateśwara in his Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. p. 252.

The swan discriminates; the cow ruminates at leisure; the earth yields in proportion to labour bestowed; the parrot merely repeats; the pot with holes loses all; the goat eats with the tips only; the buffalo makes the water in the pond muddy and drinks it; the strainer lets all the water out and retains only the dregs. Though thus the spirit of discrimination and reflection was looked on with favour, hyper-criticism was put out of countenance. Yāska lays down that a śāstra should not be taught to a fault-finding or prejudiced person.

The method of teaching the Vedic hymns was purely oral. This might have been due to the absence of a script in those early times but to our mind this oral teaching stands on some rational principles. According to the orthodox Hindus the ṛṣis knew the hymns by internal inspiration and the swaras (accents) were best learnt from the teacher orally. Moreover, learning committed to memory was of the greatest use at the sacrifice, school or assembly. In the R̥gveda⁹⁵¹ there is an allusion to pupils reciting the syllables dictated by their teacher, who carefully saw that not a single accent (swara) was wrongly pronounced. The Prātiśākhya⁹⁵² also contains a number of minute rules as to the repetition of words etc. According to Kautilya⁹⁵³ "he (the prince) shall not only revise old lessons but also *hear* over and again what has not been clearly understood". In this connection it is interesting to find that the oral method of teaching has been advocated by some Western educators of modern times. The eminent French educationists of the 17th century, Port Royalists, made it a point to bar books as far as possible and laid great stress upon conversation as a means of developing mental faculties. Pestalozzi and Frœbel were even more emphatic on this point so far as primary education was concerned. Locke ranked "instruction" 'last' and 'least' in his 'accomplishments' of gentlemen's sons—virtue, wisdom, breeding and learning; and Rousseau would have no use of books at all in any stage of education. Taking these views exaggerated in some cases, with due discount, we see that oral methods of teaching are considered to be an effective means of training up the understanding of children.

⁹⁵¹ VII 103, 5.⁹⁵² Ch. 15.⁹⁵³ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 11.

The study of any subject carried on with sufficient attention and necessary motive and in graded steps not only imparts proficiency in that line but also trains up the mental powers for general use and application in other branches as well. This psychological principle was also verified in this ancient system of education. Memorising was undoubtedly greatly insisted on and the secret of memory was repetition. Pupils who could repeat correctly after a single repetition by the teacher (Ekasaṁdhagrāhi) were rare, and the usual number of repetitions by the teacher was five⁵⁴ which enabled the pupil to repeat without any mistake. The success of a student was judged from his capacity to repeat the whole Veda thus learnt without any fault whatever. There were some who made mistakes, and they were nick-named after the number of mistakes they committed, ranging from one to fourteen.⁵⁵ Max Muller⁵⁶ quotes Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar with regard to the wonderful arrangements which the Hindus devised for the accurate preservation of the sacred text. These were far more complicated than anything the Massorites ever dreamed of. In the Samhitā arrangement the words were in their natural order and joined together according to the sanskrit rules of saṁdhi. In the Pada arrangement the words were separate, that is, not united by saṁdhi, and the compounds also dissolved. In the Krama arrangement the words were in the following order: 1, 2; 2, 3; 3, 4; 4, 5; etc., with saṁdhi between them. In the Jatā arrangement the order was 1, 2, 2, 1, 1, 2; 2, 3, 3, 2, 2, 3; 3, 4, 4, 3, 3, 4; etc. In the Ghana, 1, 2, 2, 1, 1, 2, 3, 3, 2, 1, 1, 2, 3; 2, 3, 3, 2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 3, 2, 2, 3; etc. This must have greatly added to the burden upon the pupil's power of memorising and we must wonder how pupils could have got by heart such an enormous mass of material—a task which most English boys would find unbearable. But we should bear in mind that though the study started with repeating it was soon followed by explanation. Illustrations were freely used in giving pupils the necessary ideas as is seen in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads.

⁵⁴ Pāṇini V. 1. 58.

⁵⁵ Pāṇini IV. 4, 63, 64.

⁵⁶ Lectures on the Origin of Religion, (New Impression, 1901) pp. 169-70.

Kautilya⁹⁵⁷ also refers to the teaching of the principles of Polity to the King with illustrations taken from Itihāsa and Purāṇa.

The pupils were to read among themselves the texts they had learnt and to reflect on the meaning of what they had learnt.⁹⁵⁸ Even the R̥gveda contains flings at parrot-like or frog-like reciters, and clear indications of the futility of learning by rote. "They consider one man as firmly established in the friendship of speech; another bears speech without fruit, without flowers."⁹⁵⁹ The latter is compared to a pillar supporting a hall and styled a bearer of Vedic burden, while the knower of the meaning and significance is said to attain all happiness. The Brāhmanas declare that the man who knows the meaning and the significance of the ritual attains as high an end as the performer of the ritual. By Pāṇini's time there was so much of subsidiary Vedic studies, that there was a clear differentiation of the passages to be learnt by rote from the subjects to be known.⁹⁶⁰ That memory was not the only mental power trained up or relied on, is also evident from the very first lesson, the Gāyatri, in which the reciter prays for the stimulation of his understanding. Montaigne rightly says that judgment is of greater importance than reading and that learning is of no use if understanding be not with it. Even in the case of the Classics memorising was insisted on though it was not without understanding. No doubt Kālidās often refers to repetition as the 'mother of study', but in Subhāṣita we are told: "Whoever learns by heart, writes, observes, asks questions (to get his difficulties solved), and waits upon the learned, has his intellect developed like a lotus by the Sun's rays." Thus, side by side with memorising we find 'observing' and 'questioning' described as leading to the development of the intellect. Illustrations and similes are so common in Sanskrit literature specially in the Classics, that we can safely say that the teachers used those teaching devices in their daily lessons. In Uttara-Rāma-Charita⁹⁶¹

⁹⁵⁷ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 318.

⁹⁵⁸ Yāska : Nirukta I. 18.

⁹⁵⁹ R̥gveda X. 71, 5.

⁹⁶⁰ Hence the sūtra "tadadhīte tadveda"—"That he learns by heart, that other he understands".

⁹⁶¹ Belvarkar's Eng. Trans., p. 71.

prince Lava is told by his companions in the hermitage that they saw an animal commonly known as the 'horse'. Then he says : " You fools, have you not studied in that part describing *Aśvamedha* ?" Was this recognising so common an animal by the help of Vedic texts ? Was this the method of teaching in *Bhavabhūti*'s time ? The generalisation would be too sweeping ; but it is clear that teaching was purely humanistic even then—from books to nature and not vice versa. Much was left to the teacher's discretion but in general, it seems that the modern principles of teaching (like, 'from the simple to the complex', 'from the known to the unknown', 'from the concrete to the abstract') were followed by them.

The testimony of *Hiuen Tsang* about the method of teaching in Brahminical schools is highly interesting. The method of teaching was meant more " to rouse the disciples to mental activities than to instruct them in dogma. They instruct the inert and sharpen the dull, and the teachers doggedly persevere in giving instruction to those who are addicted to idleness ".⁹⁶² Unfortunately for us the pilgrim who was more interested in the doctrines and the teaching of Buddhism than in the methods of Brahminical education, has given us only a meagre description of the method that *brāhmaṇa* teachers followed. But considering the fact that when *Hiuen Tsang* visited India, Brahminism had almost regained its predominance in Northern India, it is certainly improbable that its educational organisation could have been in any way inferior to that of the Buddhists. It must also be remembered that the great intellectual awakening of the preceding two centuries was closely associated with the revival of Brahminism.

In the *Upaniṣads* we find that the philosophic teaching given there is often illustrated by parables from Nature or stories like that of *Nachiketas* visiting the abode of the dead. And in the later works like the *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* we find stories and fables given a very important place in the inculcation of moral truths. India is in fact the home of fables and allegory. If the Hindu teachers, as seems likely, made use of this form of teaching in instructing their pupils, then this must have gone a great way in relieving the monotony

⁹⁶² Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, p. 159 ; Beal—*Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. 78.

of the laborious process of learning by heart. In this connection it is interesting to note Frœbel's words :—"Children feel an intense craving for all kinds of stories and legends, because they have a desire to have some knowledge of the nature, cause and effect of their individual life by comparing it with some thing and some one else.....Comparison with somewhat remote objects is more effective than that with near objects".

The lecture method is not necessarily an ideal one. Really when a lecture is given to a class of say fifty students it is useless to some of them who may be insincere. Its necessity is not felt by some others and a few of the rest probably cannot follow it. This method is again one-sided, because the lecturer alone is put to exertion. In the ancient Hindu schools the pupils would approach the teacher with questions to be solved and the answers were to be rightly appreciated. The system of teaching was individual and each pupil was separately instructed by the teacher, though there were occasions when the teacher explained something to all the pupils at the same time. The teacher was appealed to every now and then and he had sufficient opportunities to judge their capacities and to influence their activities. On the other hand, the tendency in modern schools, run on the lines of the class system, is to avoid the teacher, who then cannot so well understand and impress his pupils. In this sense the Dalton plan may not sound to be an invention to the student of Ancient Indian Education. The modern school does little for the bright children and it is admittedly on them that the future of the society depends. In the ancient Indian schools every child received individual attention, was encouraged and promoted from grade to grade in due consideration of his ability. There was no necessity to detain the clever one for the dull, or to yoke on the latter to the former. There was thus no waste of energy and no waste of time.

Again, the doctrine of Adhikārabāda shows that the ancient Hindu philosophers, like the educators of the present century used to take into consideration the capacity and fitness (adhikāra) of the pupil. The Bhāgavad Gītā⁹⁶³ says :—

“ Ārūrūkṣormmuneryogaṁ karma kāraṇmucyate
Yogārūḍhasya tasyaiba śamaḥ kāraṇamucyate ”

"To the sage who wishes to rise to devotion, action (without attachment) is said to be the means and to him, when he has risen to devotion, serenity is said to be the means". Indeed the modern principle of suiting matter and method to the nature and needs of the pupil was not unknown in Ancient India. Viṣṇu Śarmā, a brāhmaṇa teacher had the charge of the ignorant and vicious sons of Sudarśana, king of Pataliputra. The princes had an inordinate liking for the rearing of pigeons. When the teacher observed this and saw that they attended to nothing else, he told them that he would do nothing but fly pigeons, feed them and look after them in the pigeon-house. The princes were overjoyed to hear that. As the number of pigeons increased they had to name and count them. Viṣṇu Śarmā was clever enough to put peculiar red marks on the wings of the pigeons and called them ka, kha, ga, etc. The princes thus learned the letters of the alphabet and to join the letters into syllables and syllables into words. The foundation of a knowledge of Arithmetic was laid in counting the pigeons, in telling how many there were in two or three adjoining cots, how many remained in the cots after so many were on the wing. By this novel method was taught not only notation, numeration, addition and subtraction but also something of drawing, engineering and house-building which were required in planning and constructing the dove-cots. Not only this but Ethics and Politics were also taught in this fashion as the tales of Pañchatantra and Hitopadeśa testify to this day. In fact such manuals were written by teachers who had to educate some ill-behaved children of the rich in such an interesting disguise.

We have already seen that most of the branches of knowledge known to the Hindus were the offshoots of their great sacred project, sacrifice. The pupils were taught to work at it and it was a sufficient field for their native activities from brick-laying to drawing, from counting to reciting, from measuring to chiselling. The kṣatriya and the vaiśya pupils had more practical projects before their eyes in the form of warlike feats and industrial arts respectively and their training was sufficiently concrete, though rather empirical in the beginning. When we add to this the many story-projects to be found in the Hitopadeśa and the Pañchatantra we can easily find that the 'project' method of teaching is not quite a modern invention.

We have one Jātaka⁹⁶⁴ which shows how Nature-study was insisted on as the best means of awakening a healthy curiosity, a spirit of observation and enquiry which are indispensable aids to intellectual culture. In the story, a world-renowned Professor of Benares "had five hundred young brāhmaṇas to instruct", one of whom "had always foolish notions in his head and always said the wrong thing; he was engaged with the rest in learning the scriptures as a pupil, but because of his folly could not master them. The teacher was at pains to consider what method of instruction would be suitable for that 'veriest dullard' of all his pupils. And the thought came to him that the best way was to question him on his return from gathering firewood and leaves, as to something he had seen or done that day, and then to ask him what it was like. 'For' thought the master, 'this will lead him on to making comparisons and giving reasons and the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to impart learning to him.'"

Again, the monitorial system was an Indian invention. To manage a school with an evergrowing number of students sometimes ranging up to 500⁹⁶⁵ was no easy task for an individual teacher. He was therefore helped by a staff of Assistant Masters (pitthiācāriya) appointed from amongst the most advanced or senior pupils. Assistance in teaching was also rendered by the senior pupils as such, for, we are told of a teacher appointing his eldest disciple to act as his substitute. Another teacher of Taxila, while going to Benares on some mission, appointed his chief pupil to take charge of his school during his absence, saying: "My son, I am going away from home; while I am away, you are to instruct these my pupils" (numbering 500). We read of Prince Sutasoma of the Kuru country who "being the senior pupil soon attained to proficiency in teaching" and "becoming the private teacher" of his comrade in the school, "soon educated him, while the others only gradually acquired their learning."⁹⁶⁶ The position of a senior

⁹⁶⁴ Jātaka No. 123.

⁹⁶⁵ Jātaka I. 239, 317, 402; III. 18, 235, 143, 171 etc.

⁹⁶⁶ Jātaka II. 100; V. 457; I. 141; IV. 51; V. 457-58.

pupil to a 'mahāvādḍhaki' is indicated by Buddhaghosa.⁹⁶⁷ Viṣṇu Saṃhitā⁹⁶⁸ says : " On a preceptor's son, junior or equal to him in years, happening to be his tutor, he shall pay the same respect to him as to his own preceptor." Manu⁹⁶⁹ speaks in the same strain : " A preceptor's son, if he be his younger or equal in age, or if he be a disciple of his in respect of the celebration of a religious sacrifice, he (the pupil) shall respect as his own preceptor, in the event of that (son) having taught him the Vedas." These passages seem to imply that the son of the teacher sometimes helped the father by teaching in his stead. This monitorial system has its own advantages : the responsibility thrown on a particular pupil trains him up for that (teaching) work and makes him bold and well-behaved ; the leaders among the pupils are marked out, who may become the leading spirits in the society ; the spirit of public service and self-sacrifice is cultivated ; and the democratic discipline is inculcated as boys understand boys better than others. " The monitorial system of Bell and Lancaster, which Bell is said to have devised by seeing the method used in schools in India, is but a caricature of the Indian ideal. In English schools the prefectual system has associated the elder boys with the masters in the government and discipline of the school and it is generally recognised as being one of the most valuable parts of their training. According to the Indian ideal the more advanced scholars are associated with the master in the work of teaching and though the system may have been originally devised to help the master in solving the problem of teaching several pupils at different stages at the same time, it must have been a valuable training for the monitors themselves. In India the bullying of younger boys by older ones is almost unknown and the respect shown by the younger boys to the older boys is very marked. The resuscitation of this ancient Indian ideal of monitors would therefore be worth a trial, and it is not unlikely that it might show very excellent results if the conditions were also fulfilled, that the class should be small and it was composed of pupils all at different stages of progress."⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁷ Aśl., 111, 112.

⁹⁶⁸ XXVIII, 31.

⁹⁶⁹ II, 208.

⁹⁷⁰ F. E. Keay—Ancient Indian Education, pp. 179-80.

Again, there is a marked difference between the Hindu and the European theories of sense perception. "They agree with regard to the mind receiving the knowledge of the external world through the senses. The divergence is to be noted regarding the way to stimulate the mental process. According to European educationists the pupils must be given a good deal of exercise in observation, *i. e.*, in the use of their senses, because intelligence depends upon the cultivation of a keen sensory capacity. Hindu teachers, on the other hand, believed in the reverse order of dependence. According to them the cultivation of a keen sensory capacity depended on intelligence and the all-pervading nature of the human mind. They, therefore, tried to develop the pupil's mind in such a way as to use the pre-conscious thought as early as possible and thus to take the line of greatest connection in preference to the line of least resistance followed by the Western thinkers. The Hindu pupils were taught to go to the root of the mind by means of prayers, meditation and righteous conduct and thus to stimulate and sharpen all its activities that are more or less correlated or co-ordinated. According to the Hindu theory, to confine one's study to matter directly bearing on the particular subject, in which one is anxious to excel, is not always the best way to develop fresh brain-power. Some noted occidentals have acted on a similar principle. Sir Humphry Davy is said to have attended Coleridge's lectures on poetry to stimulate his imagination for his scientific work. Gladstone used to read the Bible before delivering his epoch-making speeches to throw into broad relief his political ideas in contrast with theology. There is, therefore, no fear of the development resulting from the study of texts like these extending merely a better comprehension of abstractions. The student will gain a wider grasp and a harder grip. The judgment in every phase of life will be improved. Though water poured into a tank may flow in at one spot, it finds its level and eventually fills up the tank evenly and smoothly. Similarly, the Hindu system improves not one special part of the mind but the whole more or less together. The Hindu method added nothing from outside to the mind but removed something detrimental to powerful personality. This was similar to the hypnotic treatment of a patient, during which the physician disentangles his

confused mental processes. The Hindu pupil was trained to reach the fountain of all inspiration (*jñānādhikarapātmā*) in the pre-conscious state of his mind and not to hover about the sprays in the form of its external working. This pre-conscious state as the Hindus believed and has now been corroborated, is the source of all powers physical and spiritual and the sooner it is sought for, the better. The mind is like an iceberg: nine-tenths of it are below the conscious state. If the thoughts lying in the pre-conscious state are occasionally brought to the surface as they can be by the Hindu system of mind-training, a connecting link between the every day commodity and its greatest store-house is established. He who is in closest touch with the pre-conscious state solves difficult questions speedily, for, all solutions which are called inspirations really come from within and the pre-conscious in constant touch with the conscious mind makes the most successful combination useful for all purposes. Hence the Hindu teacher tried to nourish the child-mind from within by religious exercises and moral tales and to prepare it for work in worldly life".⁹⁷¹

Study and teaching, however, can only lead to a mediate knowledge. For an immediate knowledge of the intimate Truth and Reality, the pupil must depend upon himself. The knowledge of the *Ātman* cannot be gained by mere speculation concerning it, but only by revelation as the result of the proper degree of self-growth. The acquisition of such knowledge, which means emancipation, is not a matter of study but of life. It presupposes two things: (1) annihilation of all desires and (ii) annihilation of "the illusion of a manifold universe, of the consciousness of plurality". The means evolved to secure these two ends are what are popularly known as the system of (i) *Sannyāsa* and (ii) *Yoga*. The former means the 'casting off' from oneself of his home, possessions and family and all that stimulates desire. It thus "seeks laboriously to realise that freedom from all the ties of earth in which a deep conception of life in other ages and countries also has recognised the supreme task of earthly existence, and will probably continue to recognise throughout all future time".⁹⁷² The system of

⁹⁷¹ S. M. Mitra—*Hindu Mind-Training*, pp. 15-21.

⁹⁷² Deussen—*Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*.

Sannyāsa as a means of attaining the knowledge of the Brahman and emancipation is completely developed in a series of later Upaniṣads such as the *Brahma*, *Sannyāsa*, *Āruṇeya*, *Paramahansa*, etc., with which we are not concerned here for the present.

Yoga teaches the withdrawing of the organs of sense from their objects and concentrating them on the inner self, endeavours to make one's self free from the world of plurality and to secure union with the Ātman.

In Post-Vedic times the practice of Yoga was developed into a formal system with its own text-book, the sūtras of Patañjali. Its first beginnings are, however, shown in *Kaṭha* (III & VI) *Śvetāśvatara* (II) and *Maitrāyaṇa* (VI). The system implies the following eight members (angas) of external practices: (1) *yama* or discipline consisting in abstinence from doing injury, honesty, chastity, poverty (2) *niyama* or self-restraint (purity, contentment, asceticism, study and devotion) (3) *āsana*, sitting (in the right place and in the correct bodily attitude) (4) *prāṇāyāma*, regulation of the breath (5) *pratyāhāra*, withdrawal of the senses from their objects (6) *dhāraṇā*, concentration of the attention (7) *dhyāna*, meditation and (8) *samādhi*, absorption.

As has been already indicated, both the systems are a perfectly intelligible consequence of the doctrine of the Upaniṣads according to which the highest end is contained in the knowledge of self-identity with the Ātman. As a means to the attainment of that end, we must purposely "dissolve the ties that bind to the illusory world of phenomena" (implied by *Sannyāsa*) and practice self-concentration (*Yoga*). Thus arose two remarkable and characteristic institutions of Indian culture through which emancipation was sought to be attained and expedited by processes and disciplines invented by the spiritual genius of the people. The first seeks by calculated methods to annihilate desires and the second the consciousness of plurality.

§ 16. WAS THERE ANY EXAMINATION?

As there was no class system, no annual examinations were required for the formation of fresh classes. The pupils received individual

instruction and the teacher could see in fresh lessons whether they followed him or not. This was thought quite sufficient. "It is no use putting to test what has not quite settled in the mind" says Kālidās. Much depended, therefore, on the judgment of the teacher: if he found that a particular boy was quite well up, he was encouraged and led onwards. On the completion of the higher course some regular examination was necessary and this was arranged by presenting the pupils before an assembly of the learned or at royal sacrifices. In a hymn of the Rg-veda⁹⁷³ there is a reference to such an assembly of the learned meeting together for debate:—

"All friends are joyful in the friend who cometh in triumph
having conquered in assembly.

He is their blame-avertter, food-provider; prepared is he and fit
for deed of vigour.

One plies his constant task reciting verses; one sings the holy
psalm in Sakvari measures.

One more, the brāhmaṇa, tells the lore of being, and one lays
down the rules of sacrificing."

We have references to Brahmanvādin, with the variants Brahmanvādyā and Brahmodya. The title of Vipra or Kabi was the reward of a scholar who had beaten the others. Such debates and disputations are mentioned in the Atharvaveda, where the opener, (Prāśa) and the opponent (Pratiprāśa) are contrasted. The questioner, the cross-questioner and the judge at a disputation are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature.⁹⁷⁴ The success in a such a debate refers to the passing of some test required before a young brāhmaṇa was considered eligible to take part in a sacrificial ritual or be a teacher himself.⁹⁷⁵

⁹⁷³ X. 71.

⁹⁷⁴ Atharvaveda XI. 3; XV. 1; Taitt. Sam., II. 5, 9, 1; Atharvaveda II. 27. 1 and 7. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI. 4. 1, 1, Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa XXVI. 5; Br. Up., III. 3, 1; III. 6, 4; Taitt. Br., III. 4.

⁹⁷⁵ Compare the "Responsio" of the Middle Ages in Europe.

These examinations were mostly oral. They tested memory-work rather than intelligence ordinarily; but in the higher stages where there was specialisation full scope was given to originality. This is evident from the descriptions preserved in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, of animated debates held at royal sacrifices.

In course of time when the sciences arose, examinations of a more practical nature were held. The famous physician Jivaka⁹⁷⁶ received his medical education in Taxila for seven years after which he had to undergo an examination in which he was asked to describe the medicinal use of all the vegetables, plants, creepers, grass, roots, etc., that could be found within a radius of fifteen miles round the city of Taxila. Jivaka examined them for four days and then "submitted the results informing his professor that there was hardly a single plant which did not possess some medicinal property."

§ 17. TEACHER'S DUTIES TO THE STUDENT.

The relation between the teacher and the taught was of the happiest kind. In the *Sāvitrī* verse to be recited at the beginning and end of each day's study, the teacher and his pupil both prayed: "May He protect us two; may we both enjoy happiness; may we both perform heroic deeds." Thus the teacher and his pupil were united by a common aim of preserving and propagating the sacred learning and to show its worth in their life and conduct. The pupil looked up to his preceptor as his father.⁹⁷⁷ The teacher was also under an obligation to fulfil his duty towards the pupil. "He is to teach him the truth exactly as he knows it."⁹⁷⁸ "He should not conceal anything from him, for, such concealment would spell ruin to him."⁹⁷⁹ The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*⁹⁸⁰ lays down that the teacher must teach with all his heart and soul. He was bound also according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁹⁸¹ to reveal everything to his pupil who at any rate lived with him for one whole year (*samvatsaravāsin*). According to *Āpastamva*⁹⁸²

⁹⁷⁶ *Mahāvagga* (*Vinyapitaka*, edited by Oldenburg) VIII. 3.

⁹⁷⁷ *Prāśṇa Up.*, V. 8.

⁹⁷⁸ *Maṇḍakopaniṣad* I. 2. 23.

⁹⁷⁹ *Prāśṇa Up.*, VI. 1.

⁹⁸⁰ VII. 4.

⁹⁸¹ XIV. 1. 1. 26, 27.

⁹⁸² I. 2.

"not only was the teacher to love the pupil as his own son but also to give him full attention in the teaching of the sacred science and withhold no part of it from him." The teacher, however, was quite free to impart to his pupil only the knowledge that he was fit for and reserve subjects to which he was not equal. There are on record certain cases of learning kept secret and revealed only to special persons.⁹⁸³

Manu⁹⁸⁴ says : "Having initiated a pupil, let the preceptor teach him the rules of purification and good conduct as well as the mode of doing burnt offerings and saṁdhyās." "To a brāhmaṇa duly initiated with the thread, shall be given instructions, regarding the practice of vows gradually and in conformity with the regulation; he shall be made to get by heart the (different portions of the Vedas)."⁹⁸⁵ "But if the teacher neglects to teach (the Veda) the pupil should forsake him."⁹⁸⁶ Kautilya⁹⁸⁷ says : "When between.....teacher and student, one abandons the other while neither of them is an apostate.....the first amercement shall be levied." Again, "the teacher was not to use the pupil for his own purposes except in times of distress."⁹⁸⁸

§18. DISCIPLINE.

In Manu Saṁhitā⁹⁸⁹ we find a passage which according to Kulluka's interpretation defines the behaviour of the teacher to his pupil. The literal English translation of the passage runs thus :—

"The good of creatures should be effected with kind sympathetic means; desiring virtue, one shall use sweet and gentle words under the circumstances."

"He whose speech and mind are always pure and fully restrained derives all the benefits enumerated in the Vedānta."

⁹⁸³ For instance, the Vaśiṣṭhas and Stombhāgas in Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa XV. 5. 24; Taittiriya Āraṇyaka III. 5. 2. 1; Kāṭha Sāṁ., XXXVI. 17; Pravahana Jaivālī and his knowledge of Brahman in Bṛhad. Up., VI. 1. 11.

⁹⁸⁴ II. 69.

⁹⁸⁵ Manu II. 173.

⁹⁸⁶ Vaśiṣṭha Saṁhitā, Ch. XI.

⁹⁸⁷ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.,) p. 251.

⁹⁸⁸ Āpastamva I. 2.

⁹⁸⁹ II. 159-61.

"Persecuted or oppressed, one must not hurt the feelings of others. Let him wish or do no injury to anybody. Let him not use a harsh word that bars the gate of heaven, to any body."

The text has "Bhūtānām.....śreyonusāsanam." Kulluka explains 'bhūtānām' by 'śiṣyānām', of pupils) and 'śreya' by 'instruction;' the whole meaning according to him, is that 'instructions should be given with the help of compassionate means.' Śukrāchārya⁹⁹⁰ also says: "Towards the disciple no one obeying my command should be harsh and cruel in words."

According to Yājñabalkya Saṃhitā,⁹⁹¹ however, "one can reprove a son or disciple at the time of teaching." Gautama⁹⁹² says: "A preceptor should admonish his pupil without beating him or inflicting any kind of corporal punishment on him. In case of emergency he may be chastised with a cut piece of rope or with a bamboo-twigg without leaves. A king shall punish a preceptor for chastising his pupil in any other way." Manu is in favour of punishment but of a mild type; says he: "Let him not raise a club to anybody nor strike anybody with a club, except his son and disciple for the sake of discipline."⁹⁹³ "A wife, son, servant, brother or disciple found guilty of an offence should be punished with a chord or with a (foliated) bamboo-stick. They shall be beaten on the lower parts of the body and never on the upper limbs. For having flogged them in any other fashion one shall be liable to punishment for theft."⁹⁹⁴ Āpastamva⁹⁹⁵ seems to be more harsh and lays down a list of punishments that could be used by the teacher at his discretion—frightening, fasting, bathing in cold water, striking with a cane and banishment from school (literally, from the teacher's presence.) The offences of royal pupils also did

⁹⁹⁰ Śukranītisāra, Ch. I. line 589.

⁹⁹¹ I. 155.

⁹⁹² Ch. II.

⁹⁹³ Manu IV. 164.

⁹⁹⁴ Manu VIII. 299-300. Compare in this connection the passage given to a Theban school-boy for exercise in calligraphy in the second millenium B. C.: 'Pass not a day in idleness or thou wilt be beatenThe ear of a boy is in his back; he listens when he is beaten'—Blackman; Luxor and Its Temples, p. 176.

⁹⁹⁵ I. 2.

not escape their usual punishment even in those early days represented by the Jātakas. On the offence of a prince being reported to the teacher (the offence being taking some sweets from a vendor's basket without paying for them), "he caused two lads to take the young fellow by his two hands and smote him thrice upon the back with a bamboo-stick bidding him take care not to do so again."⁹⁹⁶ Still the general feeling was towards mildness as may be gathered from Kautilya's dictum, which has passed into a proverb, that the period of discipline for a boy terminates at the age of sixteen and that he should henceforth be treated as a friend.

Rupture of this relationship was the result of failings on the part of the teacher or offensive conduct on the part of the pupil. There were cases of pupils who did not take seriously to study but were with the teacher only for securing some worldly advantage. There were Tirthakākas who frequently changed their teachers; Odanapāṇinīyas, who studied Pāṇinī only to earn a livelihood; Ghṛtarandhryas and Kambalachārāyaṇīyas, anxious only to secure ghee or some comfortable covering blankets by taking to the life of studentship. There were also students who did not keep the whole term, but entered life before their studies were over (Khaṭvārūḍha). But these were apparently exceptional cases,⁹⁹⁷ laughed at by the literary world of the time. There were also cases of rebellious students whom the Jaina Sūtras compare to "bad bullocks."⁹⁹⁸ The great Yājñabalkya of Mithilā disagreed with his teacher of the Yajurveda Vaiśampāyana by name, and repaired in disgust to the Himālayās and compiled a new system, known as Śukla Yajurveda. Another dissentient pupil was Āpastamva, whose differences with his teacher Baudhāyana are narrated in the Purāṇas.

The student was also allowed to desert his teacher under certain contingencies.⁹⁹⁹ One of these was incompetence or lack of knowledge

⁹⁹⁶ Jātaka No. 252 (Tilmukhi Jātaka).

⁹⁹⁷ Pāṇinī I. 4, 26, 28 ; II. 1, 41 ; II. 1, 26.

⁹⁹⁸ Jacobi : Jaina Sūtras, pp. 149 and 152.

⁹⁹⁹ Āpastamva I. 5, 26, ; I. 4, 25.

on the part of the teacher. Another was the transgression of the law by him. A teacher could be deserted also if he used his pupil's time to the detriment of his studies. Other legitimate reasons for giving up one teacher and taking to another was the teacher's neglect of his study and rituals, his negligence in imparting instruction, and commission by him of cardinal sins. But these contingencies were the exceptions which prove the general rule that the pupil was well cared for by his teacher from whom he parted on the most cordial terms.

The foregoing account shows us an interesting and pleasing picture of the life of the pupil and the teacher in India dating back to many centuries before Christ. The pupil was under a somewhat rigorous discipline but there was nothing harsh or brutal about it and a high ideal of moral life and character was held before the pupil and the teacher. The latter usually had no mercenary motive to impel him to teach but was to perform his work solely as a duty which he owed towards others and his pupil in particular. Parental love on the one hand and deep respect on the other made a sweet combination of feelings that had

“Less of earth in them than heaven.”

It is laid down in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*¹⁰⁰⁰ that if a teacher and a student sue each other (*paraśparāvīyoga*) they shall be punished with the highest amercement.” The pupil's relation to the teacher has indeed been sometimes so developed that it had led to the teacher or guru, receiving divine honours from his pupil or disciple, in some forms of Hinduism and in some sects that have sprung from it. In a more sober conception of this relationship it is thought of as that of father and son¹⁰⁰¹ and so far was this idea carried out that the pupil was considered to be in a closer relation to the teacher than to his own father. It is no wonder, therefore, that the parting scenes (for example, between Kṛṣṇa and Sandipani) are full of overwhelming sentiments. The whole family felt as if some intimate relation was leaving them

¹⁰⁰⁰ R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans., p. 224.

¹⁰⁰¹ In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kiṣkīṇḍhyākāṇḍa*, 18th sarga) we are told that a younger brother, a son and a meritorious pupil are all sons.

and the student felt as if he was going away from his real home to that of his worldly father. It is no wonder, therefore, that the teacher felt very happy when he heard that his pupils were doing quite well, particularly when one of them became more learned and famous than he himself. Rev. F. E. Keay¹⁰⁰² rightly observes: "In the West, it is the institution rather than the teacher which is emphasised and it is the school or college which a student regards as his *alma mater*. In India it is the teacher rather than the institution that is prominent and the same affection and reverence which a Western student has for his *alma mater* are in India bestowed with a life-long devotion to the teacher. Even the introduction of Western education with its many teachers and many classes, has not entirely broken down this ideal, inspite of the complications which it produces. To an Indian student a teacher who only appears at stated hours to teach or lecture and is not accessible at all times to answer questions and give advice on all manner of subjects is an anomaly. Such a relationship, no doubt, throws a greatly increased responsibility upon the teacher and where the teacher is not worthy of his position may be attended with grave dangers. But where the teacher is a man who reaches a high intellectual, moral and spiritual standard, there is much to be said for the Indian ideal. There is no country in the world where the responsibilities and opportunities of the teacher are greater than they are in India."

§ 19. THE COMPLETION OF STUDENTSHIP AND THE PARTING SPEECH OF THE TEACHER.

The completion of formal studentship was signalised by a great ceremonial bath at Samābartana, which put an end to the vows the pupil had taken as a brahmachārin. He sacrificed in the water his sacred girdle, staff and sacred thread, which he had been using all these years. He parted with the teacher after making him a suitable present. Lest his specialised knowledge and erudition shall fill him with spiritual pride, we have this provision in Āpastamva¹⁰⁰³: "The knowledge which śūdras and women possess is the completion of all study.

¹⁰⁰² Ancient Indian Education, pp. 178-79.

¹⁰⁰³ Āpastamva II. 11, 29.

They declare it a supplement to the Atharvaveda". The Taittiriya Upaniṣad¹⁰⁰⁴ has preserved for us a specimen of the parting words which a teacher generally addressed to his student when the latter was permitted to return home after the completion of his studies :—

"Say what is true! Do thy duty! Do not neglect the study of the Veda! After presenting gifts to thy teacher, take care that the thread of thy race be not broken! Do not swerve from truth, from duty! Do not neglect your health! Do not neglect your worldly prosperity! Do not neglect the learning and the teaching of the Veda!

"Do not neglect the (sacrificial) works due to the gods and the manes! Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god! Let thy father be to thee like unto a god! Let the guests be to thee like unto a god! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us those should be observed by thee—

"Not others. There are some Brahmins better than we. To those you should show proper reverence. Whatever is given should be given with faith, with joy, with modesty, with fear and from a sense of duty. If there be any doubt in the mind with regard to any sacred act or with regard to conduct—

"In that case conduct thyself as brāhmaṇas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that are doubtful, as brāhmaṇas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they are appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty.

"Thus conduct thyself. This is my admonition. This is the teaching. This is the true purport (upaniṣad) of the Veda—this is the command. Thus should this be observed".

"These words read almost like the Chancellor's Convocation Address to the students of a modern University passing out of its portals on their admission to their degrees. It will be noticed that in this ancient

vaedictory address, emphasis is laid upon several interesting points. In the first place, entering upon the householder's life and fatherhood are enjoined as a compulsory religious duty in the interests of the continuity of the race. In the second place, is enjoined the duty of studying and teaching the Veda in the interests of the continuity of culture. In the third place, the duties of domestic and social life are indicated. They are: to honour father, mother, teacher and guest as gods; to honour superiors; to give in proper manner and spirit, in joy and humility, in fear and compassion, so that it may bless both "him that gives and him that takes"; to perform sacrifices and in all doubtful cases, to order himself according to the judgment of approved authorities. Lastly, the pupil is also admonished not to neglect health and possessions. We may in passing note the spirit of humility, characterising the teacher, as shown in asking his pupil to imitate his good points and ignore his bad ones and recognising his superiors". ¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰⁵ Sir Aśuṭoṣa Mukerji Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III. Part. I. Orientalia, pp. 230-31.

CHAPTER VII.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE BUDDHIST SEATS OF LEARNING.

I. THE BUDDHIST MONASTERIES AS SEATS OF LEARNING.

The character of Buddhist education of which the monastery was the centre will be evident from the fact that Buddhism included in it the non-recognition of the Vedas and of the brāhmaṇa hierarchy as well as of the religious aspect of the caste system. Buddha carried no crusade against any of these but the opposition was implicit in his system. Hence the Buddhist education was not based on Vedic study and its teachers were not brāhmaṇas, except those who had become converted to Buddhism.

§ 1. THE SELECTION AND ADMISSION OF STUDENTS.

The Buddhist monastery was open to all comers and not merely to the three twice-born castes. There was, however, exception to the general principle and the following classes of persons were excluded from admission into the monastery: (1) one affected with the five diseases viz., leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits;¹⁰⁰⁶ (2) one who is in the royal service;¹⁰⁰⁷ (3) a proclaimed robber;¹⁰⁰⁸ or one who has broken out of jail;¹⁰⁰⁹ or wears the emblems of his deeds;¹⁰¹⁰ (4) one who has been punished by scourging;¹⁰¹¹ or branding;¹⁰¹² (5) a debtor;¹⁰¹³ (6) a slave;¹⁰¹⁴ (7) one under fifteen years of age;¹⁰¹⁵ (8) a eunuch;¹⁰¹⁶ and (9) one deformed in person or any of whose limbs was cut off.¹⁰¹⁷

The ceremony of admission is thus described in the Vinaya Pitaka:¹⁰¹⁸ "Let him who desires to receive ordination first cut off

¹⁰⁰⁶ Mahāvagga I. 39.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid., I. 42.

¹⁰¹² Ibid., I. 45.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid., I. 50.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid., I. 38.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ibid., I. 40.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid., I. 41.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid., I. 46.

¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid., I. 61.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ibid., I. 43.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid., I. 44.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid., I. 47.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid., I. 71.

his hair and beard; let him put on yellow robes, adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the bhikṣus with his head; and sit down squatting; then let him raise his joined hands and tell him to say 'I take my refuge in the Buddha, I take my refuge in the Dharma, I take my refuge in the Saṃgha.' " This act of admission was called pabbajja. A new form was substituted at a later date for the upasampadā ordination. The upajjhāya from whom the new convert—saddhivihārika—received the ordination played the most important part in the system. He must be a learned competent bhikṣu who has completed ten years since his upasampadā.¹⁰¹⁹ The procedure of choosing an upajjhāya is laid down as follows:—"Let him (who is going to choose an upajjhāya) adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet (of the intended upajjhāya), sit down squatting, raise his joined hands and say (thrice): "Venerable Sir, be my upajjhāya." (If the other answers) "well" or "certainly" or "good" or "all right" or "carry on (your work) with friendliness (towards me)" or should he express this by gesture (lit., by his body), or by word, or by gesture and word, then the upajjhāya has been chosen." The upajjhāya alone¹⁰²⁰ could confer on his saddhivihārika the upasampadā ordination but the latter must be possessed of a certain standard of education and moral practices.¹⁰²¹ Several formalities were also required. Thus it was necessary that the candidate should formally ask for being ordained and provide himself with alms and robes. Then it must be ascertained by formal questioning in an assembly of bhikṣus whether he labours under any of the disqualifications mentioned above and whether his parents have given their consent to his adopting the life. The candidate was instructed beforehand by a learned competent bhikṣu as to the manner in which to reply to those formal questions.¹⁰²² After the instruction was over, the instructor came

¹⁰¹⁹ Sūtra-nipāta, Nāḥāsūtra, verses 316-22.

¹⁰²⁰ A particular individual not the saṃgha or a part of it could serve as an upajjhāya. Several classes of persons could not serve as an upajjhāya. These are described in detail in Mahāvagga I. 68.

¹⁰²¹ The details are laid down in Mahāvagga I. 36, 2ff.

¹⁰²² For details compare Mahāvagga I. 76.

to an assembly of the bhikṣus, not less than ten in number¹⁰²² and asked its formal permission for the candidate to appear, in the following terms :

"Let the Saṃgha, reverend sirs, hear me. N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination from venerable N. N.; he has been instructed by me. If the Saṃgha is ready, let N. N. come." On the permission being granted, the candidate appeared before the assembly, adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, saluted the feet of the bhikṣus with his head, sat down squatting, raised his joined hands and thrice uttered the formula: 'I ask the Saṃgha, reverend sirs, for the upasampadā ordination: might the Saṃgha, reverend sirs, draw me out (of the sinful world) out of compassion towards me.'

Then a learned competent bhikṣu moved the following resolution (ñatti): "Let the Saṃgha, reverend sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination from the venerable N. N. If the Saṃgha is ready, let me ask N. N. about the disqualifications." Permission being granted he addressed the candidate as follows :

"Do you hear, N. N. This is the time for you to speak the truth and to say that which is. When I ask you before the assembly about that which is, you ought, if it is so, to answer 'It is'; if it is not so, you ought to answer 'It is not.'

Then followed the string of questions: "Are you afflicted with the following diseases? leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, fits? Are you a man? Are you a male? Are you a freeman? Have you no debts? Are you not in the royal service? Have your father and mother given their consent? Are you full twenty years old? Are your alms-bowl and your robes in due state? What is your name? What is your upajjhāya's name?."

After satisfactory answers were received, a learned competent bhikṣu proclaimed the following ñatti before the Saṃgha: "Let the Saṃgha reverend sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the

¹⁰²² In border countries the assembly could be composed of four bhikṣus and a chairman (Mahāvagga V. 13. 11).

upasampadā ordination from the venerable N. N.; he is free from the disqualifications; his alms-bowl and robes are in due state. N. N. asks the Saṃgha for the upasampadā ordination with N. N. as upajjhāya. If the Saṃgha is ready, let the Saṃgha confer on N. N. the upasampadā ordination with N. N. as upajjhāya."

"Let the Saṃgha, reverend sirs, hear me. This person N. N. desires to receive the upasampadā ordination with the venerable N. N. The Saṃgha confers on N. N. the upasampadā ordination with N. N. as upajjhāya. Let any one of the venerable brethren who is in favour of the upasampadā ordination of N. N. with N. N. as upajjhāya, be silent and any one who is not in favour of it, speak."

"And for the second time I thus speak to you: Let the Saṃgha etc., (as before).

"And for the third time I thus speak to you: Let the Saṃgha etc., (as before).

"N. N. has received the upasampadā ordination from the Saṃgha with N. N. as upajjhāya. The Saṃgha is in favour of it, therefore, it is silent. Thus I understand."

Two classes of persons had to pass through an intermediate stage of discipline before being formally admitted. These were persons who (1) formerly belonged to a heretic (Tīthiya) school or (2) were between 15 and 20 years of age.

A probation (parivāsa)¹⁰²⁴ of four months was imposed upon the former by a formal act of the Order on his making the threefold declaration of taking refuge. If he failed to satisfy the bhikkhus by his character and conduct¹⁰²⁵ during the period, the upasampadā ordination was refused him.

A person between 15 and 20 years of age could receive only the pabbajja ordination and had to wait till his twentieth year for the

¹⁰²⁴ Exception was made in favour of the fire-worshippers, the Jātilas and heretics of Śākya birth. They received the upasampadā ordination directly and no parivāsa was imposed upon them (Mahāvagga I. 38. 11).

¹⁰²⁵ The details are given in Mahāvagga I. 38. 5-7).

upasampadā. The novice (śramanera) as he was called during this intermediate period had to live a life of strict discipline under an upajjhāya.¹⁰²⁶ He had to keep the ten precepts,¹⁰²⁷ viz., abstinence from (1) destroying life, (2) stealing, (3) impurity, (4) lying, (5) intoxicating liquor, (6) eating at forbidden times, (7) dancing, singing, etc., (8) garlands and scents, (9) use of high beds, and (10) accepting gold or silver. He was expelled from the fraternity if he violated any of the first five precepts or if he spoke against the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha or if he held false doctrines or had sexual intercourse with bhikṣuṇīs.¹⁰²⁸ In five other cases he was liable to be punished.¹⁰²⁹ The punishment could be inflicted by any bhikṣu, with the consent of the upajjhāya.¹⁰³⁰ I-Tsing observes: "In the case of a śramanera a transgression of the twelve particulars set forth in the Vinaya texts does not involve guilt; for a śikṣamānā (fem.) however, there are some modifications of the rule. Now what are the twelve particulars? (1) One must distinguish between legal and illegal robes (Nissaggiyā 1—10), (2) one must not sleep without garments, (3) one must not touch fire (probably Pākittiya 56), (4) one must not eat too much food (Pākittiya 35, 36 and 34), (5) one must not injure any living things (Pākittiya 61), (6) one must not throw filth upon the green grass (Pākittiya 11 and 20), (7) one must not recklessly climb up a high tree (unless in emergency), (8) one must not touch jewels (Pākittiya 84; Nissaggiyā 18 and 19), (9) one must not eat food left from a meal (Pākittiya 38), (10) one must not dig the ground (Pākittiya 9), (11) one must not refuse offered food, (12) one must not injure growing sprouts. The two lower classes of members (*i. e.*, śramaneras and śramaneris need not conform to the twelve, but the śikṣamānās (fem.) incur guilt if they fail to keep the last five particulars (8—12 above). These three lower members also have to observe the summer-retreat (Varsha)."¹⁰³¹

¹⁰²⁶ Sūtranipāṭa, Tabatāka sūtra, verses 922-932.

¹⁰²⁷ Mahāvagga I. 36.

¹⁰²⁸ Mahāvagga I. 60.

¹⁰²⁹ Mahāvagga I. 57.

¹⁰³⁰ Mahāvagga I. 58.

¹⁰³¹ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 97.

The Vinaya-saṃgraha¹⁰³² Chapter XII (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1127) gives the six rules and the six minor rules for the female members:— The six important rules are:—(1) A female must not travel alone; (2) she must not cross a river alone, (3) she must not touch the body of a man, (4) she must not have the same lodging with a man, (5) she must not act as a match-maker, (6) she must not conceal a grave offence committed by a nun. The six minor rules are:—(1) A female must not take gold or silver which does not belong to her, (2) she must not shave the hair in any place but the head, (3) she must not dig up an uncultivated ground, (4) she must not wilfully cut growing grass or a tree, (5) she must not eat food which is not offered, (6) she must not eat food which has once been touched.

As soon as the ceremony of ordination was over "some such thing as a girdle or a filter should be brought and offered to the teachers who are present in the place of the ordination (and take part in it), in order to show sincere gratitude."¹⁰³³ Then a prospect of the life he was going to lead was held out before the new bhikṣu. The four Resources of the brotherhood were proclaimed to him, so that he might be prepared beforehand for the worries and troubles of the life to come. "I prescribe, O bhikṣus" said Buddha,¹⁰³⁴ "that he who confers the upasampadā ordination (on a bhikṣu) tell him the four Resources:—

(1) "The religious life has morsels of food given in alms for its resource....."

(2) "The religious life has the robe made of rags taken from a dust-heap for its resource....."

(3) "The religious life has dwelling at the foot of a tree for its resource....."

¹⁰³² Quoted in Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 97, foot-note 3.

¹⁰³³ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 103.

¹⁰³⁴ Mahāvagga II. 77.

(4) "The religious life has decomposing urine as medicine for its resource....."

"Thus must the new bhikṣu endeavour to live all his life; better food, robes etc., which it might be his lot to enjoy from time to time, being only looked upon as extra allowances (atirekalābho)."

An idea of the stern moral life he was expected to lead was at the same time conveyed to him in the shape of the following four Interdictions:—¹⁰³⁵

(1) "A bhikṣu who has received the upasampadā ordination, ought to abstain from all sexual intercourse even with an animal."

(2) "A bhikṣu.....ought to abstain from taking what is not given to him and from theft, even of a blade of grass."

(3) "A bhikṣuought not intentionally to destroy the life of any being down to a worm or an ant."

(4) "A bhikṣu.....ought not to attribute to himself any super-human condition."

According to Sūtranipāta¹⁰³⁶ the bhikṣu (1) should not be greedy about casting a look at personal beauty of a person, (2) should not lend his ears to gossips of the townsfolk, (3) should not be greedy about sweet things, (4) should never save articles of food, drink, clothing etc., (5) should not be anxious to get such articles of food, drink, clothing etc., (6) should not indulge in idle talks, (7) should never behave wrongly, (8) should not sleep too much, (9) should forsake idleness, dishonesty, gaudy dress, indecent talks, gambling and idle jokes, (10) should not study black art, astrology, and lakṣaṇatātva, (11) should not have a fancy for the chirping of birds, (12) should remain unaffected by praise or calumny, (13) should forsake anger, calumny, greed, and desire, (14) should not engage himself in buying and selling, (15) should give up pride, bragging and quarreling, (16) should not tell a lie nor think of evil thoughts and (17) should never utter harsh words to anybody.

¹⁰³⁵ Mahāvagga I. 76. Compare Sūtranipāta, Samyaka-paribrahmajñāyāsūtra, verses 359-73.

¹⁰³⁶ Vibhāṅgāsūtra, verses 922-933.

In course of time when the Buddhist monasteries began to admit advanced students who did not desire to be ordained as monks, the system of admission was different. Thus, at Nālandā and Vikramaśīlā monasteries the students were admitted by the *dwārapaṇḍits* or gate-keepers (one at Nālandā and six at Vikramaśīlā). Hiuen Tsang¹⁰³⁷ says: "If men of other quarters desire to enter.....the keeper of the gate (at Nālandā) proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new (books) before getting admission. Those students, therefore, who come here as strangers, have to show their ability by hard discussion; those who fail compared with those who succeed are as seven or eight to ten." This examination at the gate was thus the Matriculation of the scholars to enable them to enter the portals of these Universities. Thenceforth their name had no concern with the register of the state; for there was a register-book of the assembly on which their names were written down.¹⁰³⁸

§2. CLASSES OF TEACHERS AND QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED OF THEM.

There seems to have been a system of gradation of Buddhist scholars and teachers. 'The brother who expounds orally one treatise (or class of scripture) in the Buddhist Canon, whether Vinaya, Abhidhamma or Sutta is exempted from serving under the Prior; he who expounds two is invested with the outfit of a Superior; he who expounds three has brethren deputed to assist him; he who expounds four has lay servants assigned to him; he who expounds five, rides on an elephant and has a surrounding retinue.' 'An ordained priest is *Dhara* (small teacher); after passing ten summer retreats, (one becomes) a *Sthavira* (settled one) who could be trusted to live by himself without a teacher's supervision. But the *Upādhyāya* and the *Āchārya* are the most important classes of teachers. According to I-Tsing¹⁰³⁹ " 'upādhyāya' is to be translated by 'teacher of personal instruction; 'achārya'¹⁰⁴⁰ is translated 'teacher of discipline,'

¹⁰³⁷ Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II., pp. 170-71.

¹⁰³⁸ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 65.

¹⁰³⁹ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 117-18.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibid.

'it means one who teaches pupils rules and ceremonies' ".¹⁰⁴¹ I-Tsing observes: "Any one who becomes an upādhyāya must be a sthāvira, and must have passed the full ten summer-retreats. The age of a Karmāchārya and private instructor, and of other teachers who are witnesses, is not limited; they must be fully acquainted with the Vinaya, being themselves pure; and must be either in the full or in the half number."¹⁰⁴²

§3. RELATION BETWEEN THE TEACHER AND THE PUPIL.

It was ordained that the novice should live for the first ten years in absolute dependence upon his upajjhāya.¹⁰⁴³ The relation between the two is described in minute detail in the Vinaya texts¹⁰⁴⁴ and may be somewhat understood from the following general principle laid down by Gautama Buddha:¹⁰⁴⁵

"The upajjhāya, O bhikṣu, ought to consider the saddhivihārika as a son; the saddhivihārika ought to consider the upajjhāya as a father. Thus, these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence and communion of life, will progress, advance and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline."

The Sigalovāda Sutta¹⁰⁴⁶ contains a section which details the duties of pupils and teachers. The pupil should honour his teacher by rising in his presence, by ministering to him, by supplying his wants and by attention to instruction. The teacher should show his affection to his pupils, by training them up in all that is good, by teaching them

¹⁰⁴¹ For the relation of Āchārya to Upādhyāya see Mahāvagga I. 32, 1 note, S. B. E., Vol. XIII. pp. 178, 179.

¹⁰⁴² Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 104-05.

¹⁰⁴³ Mahāvagga I. 32, 1. It was prescribed on a later occasion that a learned competent bhikṣu had to live only five years in dependence on his upajjhāya and an unlearned one all his life (Mahāvagga I. 33, 4). In some cases a bhikṣu was authorised to live without a Nisaya i. e., independent of upajjhāya (Mahāvagga I. 33, 5ff).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Mahāvagga I. 25, 7ff; I. 32, 1ff.).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Mahāvagga I. 25, 6.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Translated into English by Childers in the Contemporary Review, February, 1876.

to hold knowledge fast, by instructing them in science and lore, by speaking well of them to their friends and companions and by guarding them from danger.

The saddhivihārika was to act as a personal attendant to the upajjhāya. Sūtranipāta¹⁰⁴⁷ says: "One should serve his preceptor just as the devas serve Indra". "Let him arise betimes; and having taken off his shoes and adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, let him give to the upajjhāya the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with. Then let him prepare a seat for the upajjhāya. If there is rice-milk, let him rinse the jug and offer rice-milk to the upajjhāya. When he has drunk it, let him give water to the upajjhāya, take the jug, hold it down, rinse it properly without damaging it by rubbing and put it away. When the upajjhāya has risen, let him take away the seat. If the place is dirty, let him sweep the place. After this he was to help the preceptor to dress and to get the alms-bowl ready if he wished to go out to beg. If the preceptor desired it, the pupil was to follow him as his attendant on the begging tour, keeping not too far away and not too near him. If the preceptor speaks, he is not to interrupt him. After the begging is over the pupil was to get back quickly to the monastery, prepare a seat, get water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool and a towel. Then he must go and meet the preceptor and take his bowl and robe for him. He must fold up the robe and attend to the clothes of the preceptor. If the preceptor wishes to eat the food in the alms-bowl, he must bring him water and then offer him food. After the meal the pupil must wash and dry the bowl and put it away and also put away the robe. After the preceptor has risen, the pupil must take away the seat and put away the water for the washing of feet, the footstool and the towel. If the place was dirty he was to sweep it. Then he was to help the preceptor to bathe, getting for him cold or hot water or accompanying him to the bathing place if he wished to go there. The pupil also bathed at the same time but had to dry and dress himself quickly so as to be ready to help the preceptor. After the bathing was

¹⁰⁴⁷ Nābhāsūtra, verse 315.

completed he was to ask the preceptor for a discourse or ask him questions. Elaborate directions are given as to the procedure to be followed by the pupil in cleansing the monastery—the cell, store-room, refectory, fire-room etc. The pupil must also see that there is drinkable water, food and water for rinsing the mouth. He was also to be a monitor and a helpmate to his preceptor. If he became discontented the pupil was to try and appease him or get some one else to do this. If indecision arose in his mind or he had become tainted with false doctrines the pupil was to try and win him back. If the preceptor is in danger of committing an offence by the words he says, let the pupil keep him back. If the preceptor be guilty of a grave offence and ought to be sentenced to 'parivāsa', 'mānatta' or 'penal discipline', let the pupil take care that the Saṃgha impose it upon him and that he was rehabilitated after the penance was complete. Again, if the Saṃgha wishes to proceed against the preceptor by the Tajjaniya kamma (or other disciplinary proceedings mentioned in the first book of Chullavagga) let the pupil do what he can in order that the Saṃgha may not proceed against the preceptor or may mitigate the proceeding. Or if the Saṃgha has instituted a proceeding against him, let the pupil do what he can in order that the preceptor may behave himself properly, live modestly and aspire to get clear of his penance and that the Saṃgha may revoke its sentence. The pupil was also to see that the robe of the preceptor was washed or made or dyed, according to need. He was not to accept presents or give presents or wait on any one else or go out, without the permission of the preceptor. If the preceptor was sick he was to wait upon him and nurse him dilligently".¹⁰⁴⁸

The preceptor too had corresponding duties. Thus we read: "The upajjhāya, O bhikṣu, ought to observe a strict conduct towards his saddhivihārika. Let the upajjhāya, O bhikṣu, afford (spiritual) help and furtherence to the saddhivihārika by teachings, by putting question to him, by exhortation and by instruction. If the upajjhāya has an alms-bowl (or robe or other articles required for a bhikṣu) and the saddhivihārika has not, let the upajjhāya give the same to the

saddhivihārika or take care that he gets one. If the saddhivihārika is sick, let the upajjhāya arise betimes and give him the teeth-cleanser and water to rinse his mouth with (and so on with the other duties prescribed for the saddhivihārika). He was to see that the pupil washed his robe and to show him how to make and dye it".¹⁰⁴⁹

The Milindā-Paṇha¹⁰⁵⁰ thus enumerates the duties of the teacher: 'He must always keep guard over his pupil. He must teach him what to cultivate and what to avoid; about what he should be earnest and what he might neglect. He must instruct him as to sleep and as to keeping himself in health and as to food he may take and what to reject. He should teach him discrimination (in food) and share with him all that is put as alms in his own bowl. He should encourage him by saying 'Be not afraid, you will gain advantage (from what is taught here)'. He should advise him as to the people whose company he should keep and as to the villages and vihāras he should frequent. He should never indulge in foolish talk with him. When he finds any defect in him he should easily pardon it. He should be zealous; he should teach nothing partially, keep nothing secret and hold nothing back. He should look upon him in his heart as a son, saying to himself 'I have begotten him in learning'. He should strive to bring him forward, saying to himself 'How can I keep him from going back?'. He should resolve to make him strong in knowledge saying 'I will make him mighty'. He should love him, never desert him in necessity and always befriend him when he goes wrong'. I-Tsing¹⁰⁵¹ says: "It is wrong for a teacher not to impart the ten precepts to one who has become a priest and not to communicate the complete precepts out of fear that one should transgress them. For in such a case the novice falsely bears the name (of śramaṇera which means) 'seeking rest' and vainly embraces the appellation (of pravragita i. e., one) "who has gone forth from his home".

The upajjhāya could turn away a saddhivihārika for improper conduct¹⁰⁵² but if the latter begged for pardon, he should be

¹⁰⁴⁹ Mahāvagga I. 26.

¹⁰⁵⁰ IV. 1. 8.

¹⁰⁵¹ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 98.

¹⁰⁵² What is meant by improper conduct is explained in detail in Mahāvagga I. 27. 6-8.

forgiven.¹⁰⁵³ In case the upajjhāya had gone away or returned to the world or died or gone over to a schismatic faction, the saddhivihārikas had to choose an āchāriya who stood in the same relation to them as the upajjhāya.

I-Tsing (who was in India between 673 and 687 A. D.) shows us how the system was working at the time of his visit. He says: "When one has shaved the head, worn a 'pata' (simple garment) and received the upasampadā ordination after having become 'homeless', one need not tell one's teachers the five things as is ordained in the Vinaya¹⁰⁵⁴ but must tell everything else; if not, one will be faulty. The five things to be confessed are: (1) the chewing of tooth-wood; (2) drinking water; (3) going to stool; (4) making water; (5) chaitya-vandanā or worshipping of a chaitya within forty-nine fathoms in the sacred boundary. When, for example, the novice is about to eat, he should go near his teacher, and having saluted according to the rule, announce to him as follows: 'Let my upajjhāya be attentive; I now announce to you that I wash my hands and utensils, and wish to have a meal'. The teacher should say 'Be careful'. All other announcements should be made according to this example. The teacher will then tell his pupil what to do, concerning the matter and time of announcement. When there are many things to announce the pupil can do so all at once. After the lapse of five summers from the time the pupil masters the Vinaya, he is allowed to live apart from his upajjhāya. He can go about among the people and proceed to pursue some other aim. Yet he must put himself under the care of some teacher wherever he goes. This will cease after the lapse of ten summers, i. e., after he is able to understand the Vinaya. The kind object of the Great Sage is to bring one up to this position. If a priest does not understand the Vinaya, he will have to be under another's care during the whole of his life-time. If there be no great teacher, he must live under the care of a sub-teacher. In this case the pupil should do all but salutation, for he cannot

¹⁰⁵³ Mahāvagga I. 27. In some cases the expulsion of the saddhivihārika and his re-habilitation was compulsory.

¹⁰⁵⁴ In the Mūlasarvāstivādanikāya-vinaya-saṃgraha, Book XIII.

salute his teacher in the morning, or ask his health, since he must always act in accordance with the Vinaya, with which he is unacquainted; and even if it be necessary to announce any matter, how can he do so when he himself does not understand the way. Sometimes he receives from the sub-teacher instruction in the morning and in the evening. Even though the sub-teacher instructs such a pupil, the meaning of the Vinaya text may not be understood as it ought to be. For, if he who confesses (*i. e.*, the pupil) cannot rightly indicate his point how can he who answers (*i. e.*, the teacher) give a proper command. A full confession is, therefore, not to be made".¹⁰⁵⁵

I-Tsing continues: "The following is also the manner in which a pupil waits on his teacher in India. He goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last watch of the night. First, the teacher bids him sit down comfortably. Selecting some passage from the Tripitaka, he gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects his pupil's moral conduct and warns him of defects and transgressions; whenever he finds his pupil faulty, he makes him seek remedies and repent. The pupil rubs the teacher's body, folds up his clothes or sometimes sweeps the apartments and the yard. Then having examined water to see whether insects be in it, he gives it to the teacher. Thus if there be anything to be done, he does all on behalf of his teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to his superior. On the other hand, in the case of a pupil's illness his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicine needed and pays attention to him as if he was his child."¹⁰⁵⁶ The main ideas of this relation of teacher and pupil are taken over from the Brahminic education and are in close similarity with it.

Indeed the Buddhist system of education shows an imitation of the early Hindu institutions. We are reminded of the *anadhyāya* days when Yuan Chwang tells us that the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth of each fortnight were fast days, six days in each month when the

¹⁰⁵⁵ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 119-20.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Sūtras forbid Vedic study and recitation.¹⁰⁵⁷ We are again reminded of the four monthly ceremonies (chāturmāsya), where he describes the first, fifth and ninth months of the year as 'the three long fasts.' Similarly, the winter-retreat or Varsha was strictly observed¹⁰⁵⁸ but the Buddhist Varsha was shorter than the Hindu. It extended from the first day of Śrāvaṇa to the last day of Āśvayuja. In I-Tsing's time it was four months, from mid-June to mid-October.¹⁰⁵⁹ As in the Hindu system, classes were held only in the morning and evening hours and never during the heat of the day.¹⁰⁶⁰

We observe great similarity in the details of the daily life of the monks as noticed by I-Tsing. 'The Buddha ruled that a priest should never wear sandals before teachers or images'¹⁰⁶¹ 'It is mean not to use a tooth-wood, not to wash after evacuation, and not to distinguish between clean and unclean food'.¹⁰⁶² There were special instructions regarding the morning bath and ablutions and the keeping of the system cooled by oil and other artificial appliances.¹⁰⁶³ "When a meal is finished, do not fail to cleanse the hand.....chew tooth-wood in the mouth; let the tongue as well as the teeth be carefully cleansed and purified."¹⁰⁶⁴ "Nor is it right to eat next morning the soup and vegetables that have been left, or to partake later of the remaining cake or fruits."¹⁰⁶⁵

In this connection it may be noted that Kulapati which according to the Hindu commentator denotes a teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils became a word of scorn among monastic Buddhists, for, says I-Tsing: "If any priest decided anything by himself alone or treated the priests favourably or unfavourably at his own pleasure, without regarding the will of the assembly, he was expelled (from the monastery) being called a Kulapati."¹⁰⁶⁶ A Hindu religious student is known as

¹⁰⁵⁷ Watters: Yuan Chwang I. 302.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Takakusu's I-Tsing p. 21.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁰⁶² Ibid., Ch. XX.

¹⁰⁶³ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid., I. 145.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁰⁶² Ibid., pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 63.

a brahmachārin but according to the Buddhists 'brahmachārin' denoted a student of secular literature and 'māṇava' a student of the scriptures who would be tonsured and black-robed later on.¹⁰⁶⁷

§4. CURRICULUM OF STUDIES.

I-Tsing gives us a very nice idea about the curriculum of studies in the Buddhist monasteries. "Throughout India every one who becomes a monk is taught Mātriketa's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (Śīla). This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna schools. There are six reasons for this. Firstly, these hymns enable us to know the Buddha's great and profound virtues. Secondly, they show us how to compose verses. Thirdly, they ensure purity of language. Fourthly, the chest is expanded in singing them. Fifthly, by reciting them nervousness in an assembly is overcome. Sixthly, by their use life is prolonged, being free from disease. After one is able to recite them, one proceeds to learn other śūtras"¹⁰⁶⁸ "In India students learn this epistle in verse (Suhṛtlekhā of Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna) early in the course of instruction, but the most devout make it their special subject of study throughout their lives.....There is another work of a similar character called Jātakamālā.....The object of composing the Birth-stories in verse is to teach the doctrine of universal salvation in a beautiful style, agreeable to the popular mind and attractive to readers."¹⁰⁶⁹ Mahāsattva Chandra's song about Prince Viśwāntara and Aśwaghoṣa's poetical songs and Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra and Buddhacharit-kāvyā were widely read and sung throughout India.¹⁰⁷⁰

In a previous chapter, we have seen that the Buddhist monasteries began in course of time to impart secular instruction as well. We have seen that there was a long course of grammatical study, beginning when the boy was six years of age and lasting till he was twenty, which was

¹⁰⁶⁷ Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 105, 155 note.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 157-58.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 162-63.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 164-66.

a preliminary to the study of higher subjects. With regard to this further study I-Tsing observes : "After having studied this commentary (on Pāṇini's grammar called *Kāśikāvṛtti*), students begin to learn composition in prose and verse and devote themselves to logic (*hetuvidyā*) and metaphysics (*Abhidharma-kośa*). In learning *Nyāya-dvāra-tarka-śāstra* (introduction to logic) they rightly draw inferences; and by studying *Jātakamālā* their powers of comprehension increase. Thus instructed by their teacher and instructing others they pass two or three years, generally in the *Nālandā* monastery in Central India or in the country of *Valabha* (*Walā*) in Western India." (Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 176).

If the students wanted to distinguish themselves in Yoga then they had to read—¹⁰⁷¹

(1) 'The *Chūrṇi*' (i. e., Patañjali's great commentary on Pāṇini's sūtras.

(2) 'The *Bhartṛhari śāstra*' which treats of principles of human life as well as of grammatical science.

(3) 'The *Vākya* discourse' a treatise on the inference supported by the authority of the sacred teaching and on inductive arrangement.

(4) 'The *Pei-na*' (perhaps Sanskrit *Veda*) which they evidently studied to oppose the heretics.

"The priests learn besides all the *Vinaya* works and investigate the *Sūtras* and *Śāstras* as well."¹⁰⁷²

"After having learnt the *Yogācārya-śāstras*, he ought to study thoroughly *Asaṅga's* eight *śāstras*. These eight *śāstras* are :—

1. *Vidyāmātra-vimśati (gāthā)-śāstra* or *Vidyāmātrasiddhi* (by Vasubandhu. (Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka No. 1240).
2. *Vidyāmātrasiddhi-tridaśa-śāstra-kārikā* by Vasubandhu (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1215).

¹⁰⁷¹ Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 178-80.

¹⁰⁷² Ibid., p. 181.

3. Mahāyāna samparigraha-śāstramūla by Asanga (Nanjio's Catalogue, Nos. 1183, 1184, 1247).
4. Abhidharma (-samgiti)-śāstra by Asanga (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1199; commentary by Sthiramati, No. 1178).
5. Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra by Vasubandhu (Nanjio's Catalogue, Nos. 1244, 1248).
6. Nidāna-śāstra (Nos. 1227, 1314 by Ullangha, No. 1211 by Śuddhamati).
7. Sūtrālaṅkāra-tikā by Asanga (No. 1190).
8. Karmasiddha-śāstra by Vasubandhu (Nos. 1221, 1222).

"Although there are some works of Vasubandhu among the above-mentioned śāstras, yet the success (in the Yoga system) is assigned to Asanga (and thus the books of Vasubandhu are included among Asanga's".¹⁰⁷³

"When a priest wishes to distinguish himself in the study of Logic he should thoroughly understand Gina's eight śāstras. These are:—

1. The śāstra on the meditation of the Three Worlds (not found).
2. Sarvalakṣaṇa-dhyāna-śāstra (kārikā) by Gina (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1229).
3. The śāstra on the meditation on the object (by Gina). Probably Ālambanapratyaya-dhyāna-śāstra (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1173).
4. The śāstra on the Gate of the Cause (Hetudvāra) (not found).
5. The śāstra on the gate of the resembling cause not found.
6. The Nyāya-dvāra (tarka)-śāstra by Nāgārjuna (Nanjio's Catalogue Nos. 1223, 1224).
7. Pragñapti-hetu-saṃgraha (?) -śāstra by Gina (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1228).
8. The śāstra on the grouped inferences (not found).

¹⁰⁷³ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 186.

"While studying the Abhidharma (metaphysics) he must read through the six Pādas, and while learning the Āgamas, he must entirely investigate the principles of the four classes (Nikāya). When these have all been mastered, the priest will be able successfully to combat heretics and disputants and by expounding the truths of the religion to save all."¹⁰⁷⁴

In later years Tāntric philosophy came to be studied at Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā and other monasteries. Dr. P. C. Roy has proved in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*¹⁰⁷⁵ that the tantras were the repositories of chemical knowledge and observes: "From the fifth to the eleventh century A. D. the colleges in connection with the monasteries of Pātāliputra, Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā, Odantapura etc., were the great seats of learning as the temples attached to the pyramids in ancient Egypt and alchemy was included in the curricula of studies".

The foregoing account would show that some of these monasteries stood for the ideal of freedom in learning and welcomed knowledge from all quarters, from all sects and creeds. Indeed some of them were genuine universities in the universal range of their studies and not mere sectarian denominational schools. Thus at Nālandā at the time of Hiuen Tsang "the priests belonging to the convent or strangers (residing therein) always reach to the number of ten thousand who all study the Great Vehicle, and also (the works belonging to) the eighteen sects (of Buddhism) and not only so, but even ordinary works such as the Vedas and other books, the hetuvidyā, śabdavidyā, the chikitsāvidyā, the works on magic and the Sāṃkhya; besides these they thoroughly investigate the miscellaneous works".¹⁰⁷⁶ There were one hundred pulpits whence the teachers discoursed on their subjects, so that there were one thousand men who could explain twenty collections of sūtras and śāstras; five hundred who could explain thirty collections and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who could explain fifty collections.¹⁰⁷⁷ Hiuen Tsang himself "whilst he stopped in the convent,

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 186-87.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Vol. I., pp. LXXI-LXXVIII.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 112.

heard the explanation of the Yoga-śāstra, three times; of Nyāya—Anusāra-śāstra once; the Hin-hiang-tin-fa-ming once; the Hetuvidyā-śāstra and the Śabda-vidyā and the tsah liang śāstras twice; the Prāgamūla śāstra-tikā and the śata-śāstra thrice. The Koṣa, Vibhāsa and the Śatpadābhidharma śāstras he had already heard explained in the different parts of Kashmere; but when he came to this convent he wished to study them again to satisfy some doubts he had: this done, he also devoted himself to the study of the brāhmaṇa books and the work called Vyākaraṇa".¹⁰⁷⁸ He also "thoroughly investigated the language (words and phrases) and by talking with those men on the subject of the 'pure writings' he advanced excellently in his knowledge. Thus, he penetrated, examined completely, all the collection (of Buddhist books) and also studied the sacred books of the brāhmaṇas during five years".¹⁰⁷⁹

The courses of study were perhaps less comprehensive at Vikramaśīlā than at Nālandā. The most important branch of learning taught here was the Tantras. Next to the Tantras there were studied Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic. The fact that the dwāra-paṇḍits were eminent logicians goes to prove that Logic was evidently a popular subject.¹⁰⁸⁰ Here as at Nālandā and other monasteries the teachers and the students occupied themselves with copying manuscripts.¹⁰⁸¹

It will be noticed that the curriculum in these monasteries excluded all technical sciences. It was therefore a deterioration from Taxila where the curriculum was more varied. But there is nothing strange in this when we bear in mind that the monks in them had no care about food, lodging and clothing which were supplied to them gratis. In fact the monks had hardly any secular care and their whole endeavour was given to intellectual and spiritual improvement. Moreover, there is no evidence that Law, Mathematics and Astronomy were cultivated in these monasteries. Probably Law was already regarded too much as an exclusive possession of the Brahmins to make intrusion by others

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Beal—Life of Hsien Tsang, p. 121.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Beal—Life of Hsien Tsang, p. 125.

¹⁰⁸⁰ S. C. Vidyābhāṣa—Medieval Logic, p. 150.

¹⁰⁸¹ J. R. A. S., 1010, p. 151.

possible, while Buddhism would not have the need of astronomy that Brahminism had for ascertaining auspicious times for sacrifices and other ceremonials.

We find that exercise was encouraged in the Buddhist monasteries in India. I-Tsing¹⁰⁸² says: "In India both priests and laymen are generally in the habit of taking long walks, going backwards and forwards along a path, at suitable hours, and at their pleasure; they avoid noisy places. Firstly, it cures disease and secondly, it helps to digest food. The walking hours are in the forenoon and late in the afternoon. They either go away (for a walk) from their monasteries or stroll quietly along the corridors. If any one neglects this exercise he will suffer from ill health and be often troubled by a swelling of the legs or of the stomach, a pain in the elbows or on the shoulders. A phlegmatic complaint likewise is caused by sedentary habits. If any one, on the contrary adopts this habit of walking he will keep his body well, and thereby improve his religious merit.....When anyone walks towards the right round a temple or a chaitya, he does it for the sake of religious merit; therefore he must perform it with special reverence. But the exercise (I am now speaking of) is for the sake of taking air, and its object is to keep oneself in good health or to cure diseases".

II. HERMITAGES OF BUDDHIST SAINTS AS SEATS OF LEARNING.

Secondary and Higher education were also imparted in the hermitages of Buddhist saints frequently referred to in Pali and Sanskrit literature. Thus we read in *Losaka Jātaka*¹⁰⁸³ that Bodhisattva was a teacher of world-wide fame in Benares with five hundred young brāhmaṇas to teach. "In those times the Benares folk used to give day by day commons of food to poor lads and had them taught free." In the same *Jātaka* we are told how the villagers appointed a teacher by paying his expenses and giving him a hut to live in. In the *Tittira Jātaka*¹⁰⁸⁴ we read that "a world-renowned Professor of Benares

¹⁰⁸² Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 114-15.

¹⁰⁸³ *Jātaka* I. 234.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *Jātaka* III. 537.

gave instruction in science to five hundred young brāhmaṇas. One day he thought: So long as I dwell here, I meet with hindrances to the religious life and my pupils are not perfected in their studies. I will retire into a forest-home on the slopes of the Himalayas and carry on my teachings there". He told this to his pupils and bidding them bring sesame, husked rice, oil, garments and such like, he went into the forest and building a hut of leaves took up his abode close by the highway. His pupils too each built a hut for himself. Their kinsfolk sent rice and the natives of the country saying 'a famous professor, they say, is living in such and such a place in the forest, and giving lessons in science' brought presents of rice and the foresters also offered their gifts while a certain man gave a milch cow and a calf to supply them with milk".

Hiuen Tsang refers to such an institution maintained by Jayasena. We are told: "He (Hiuen Tsang) went again to the hill called Yaṣṭivana and stopped with a householder who was a native of Suratha and a kṣatriya by caste—his name was Jaysena, a writer of śāstras. As a youth he was given to study and first under Bhadra-ruchi, Master of Śāstras, he had studied the *hetuvidyā-śāstra*; then under Sthiramati Bodhisattva, he had studied the *śabdavidyā-śāstra* (and others), belonging to the Great and Little Vehicle. Again under Śilabhadra, Master of the Law, he had studied the *yogaśāstra*. And then again, with respect to the numerous productions of secular (outside) writers: the four Vedas, works on astronomy and geography, on the medicinal art, magic and arithmetic, he had completely mastered these from beginning to end: he had exhausted these inquiries root (leaf) and branch; he had studied all of them both within and without. His acquirements (virtue) made him the admiration of the period. Purṇavarmā rāja, lord of Magadha, had great respect for learned men and honoured those distinguished as sages: hearing of this man's renown, he was much pleased, and sent messengers to invite him to come to his court and nominated him kwo-sse (Master of the kingdom) and assigned for his support the revenue of twenty large towns. But the Master of śāstras declined to receive them. After the obsequies of Purṇavarmā, Śīlāditya rāja also invited him to be "the Master of the country" and assigned

him the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa. But again the Master declined the offer. The king still urged him repeatedly to acquiesce, but he as firmly refused. Then addressing the King he said: "Jayasena has heard, that he who receives the emoluments of the world (men), also is troubled with the concerns of life; but now my object is to teach the urgent character of the fetters of birth and death; how is it possible then to find leisure to acquaint myself with the concerns of the king?" So saying he respectfully bowed and went away, the king being unable to detain him. From that time he has constantly lived on the mountain called Yaṣṭivana, where he takes charge of disciples, teaching and leading them on to persevere and expounding the books of Buddha. The number of laymen and priests (religious men) who honour him as their Master is always a large one, amounting to several hundred."¹⁰⁸⁵ "The master of the Law (Hiuen Tsang) remained with him first and last for two years and studied a treatise on the difficulties of the Vidyā-matra-siddhi śāstra, the I-i-lu-lun, the Shing-wu-wai-lun, the puh-chu-ni-pan-shih-i-yin-un-lun, the chwong-yan-king-lun; and he also asked explanations of passages in the yoga and the hetuvidyā śāstras which yet caused him doubt."¹⁰⁸⁶

Comparable to Nālandā in the freedom of its academic life and the variety and catholicity of its studies, as described by Yuan Chwang, there was another seat of learning, the hermitage of the sage Divākaramitra, described by Bāṇa in his Harṣacharita.¹⁰⁸⁷ Originally a follower of Vedic religion and of the Maitrāyaṇi śākhā, he turned a Buddhist and according to Bāṇa had his part in the conversion of Harṣa and his sister into Buddhism. To his calm sylvan retreat in the depth of the Viṇḍhyā hills were admitted students differing widely and radically in doctrines and practices, followers of all possible sects and schools of thought, gathered together in a common fellowship in the quest of Truth, the supreme object of a University. There came Arhats (Digāmbara Jains) Maskaris (brāhmaṇical ascetics) Śvetapatas (śvetāmbara Jains), White-clothed vikṣas, Bhāgabatas, Vanis

¹⁰⁸⁵ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 153-54.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁷ English Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 236-37.

(brahmachārins), Keśaluñchakas (those who rooted out their hairs), Kapilas (Sāṃkhyas) Lokāyātikas (Obhāvākas or atheists) Jains,¹⁰⁸⁸ Kāṇadas (followers of Kāṇada's Vaiśeṣika philosophy), Aupaniśadas (Vedāntins) Aiśavara karanikas (Naiyāyikas) Kārandhamins¹⁰⁸⁹ (metallurgists) Dharmasāstrins¹⁰⁹⁰ (experts in law), Pourāṇikas, Śapta-tantavas (experts in rituals), Śaivas, Śābdikas (grammarians), and Pañcharātrikas (followers of the Pañcharātra sect of Vaiṣṇavas). Nor were Buddhist learning and culture less in evidence there: the followers of the Three Refuges (Trisāraṇa) were busy performing the ritual of the chaitya (chaitya-karma); there were students well-versed in the Śākya-śāsanas (Buddhist Law); discourses were also forth-coming on Vasubandhu's Kośa or Bauddhasiddhānta; while there were others who specialised in the study of Bodhisattva-jātakas which they were always muttering. These different sects and schools of thought were "all diligently following their own tenets, pondering, urging objections, raising doubts, resolving them, giving etymologies, disputing, studying and explaining."¹⁰⁹¹

"The Supreme Buddhist Avalokiteśvara, compacted of all the letter-atoms of all the śāstras,—absorbed without faltering in penances,—revealing the real nature of all things to the student, like the light,—one whom Buddha himself might well approach with reverence, Duty herself might worship, Favour itself show favour to, Honour itself honour, Reverence itself revere,—the very source of muttered prayer, the circumference of the wheel of religious observance, the essence of asceticism, the body of purity, the treasury of virtue, the home of trust, the standard of good conduct, the entire capital of omniscience, the acme of kindness, the extreme limit of compassion, the very

¹⁰⁸⁸ According to Professor C. V. Vaidya "the Buddhists are here called Jainas, Jina being a name of Buddha while what are now called Jainas are called Arbats" (History of Medieval Hindu India, Vol. I, p. 111).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Philosophers of Dhātavāda or elements (Ibid.).

¹⁰⁹⁰ The Mīmāṃsakas are probably intended for they based their arguments on revelations (Ibid.).

¹⁰⁹¹ Harjaçharita—English Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, p. 236.

finality of happiness—Divākaramitra¹⁰⁹² was the teacher in this hermitage and students belonging to the above-mentioned sects and schools of thought—"all gathered here as his disciples."¹⁰⁹³

III.—METHOD OF TEACHING IN THE BUDDHIST SEATS OF LEARNING.

I-Tsing¹⁰⁹⁴ observes:—"In the fundamental principles of the Law of Buddha, teaching and instruction are regarded as the first and foremost, just as King Kakravartin very carefully protects and brings up his eldest son; so carefully is a pupil instructed in the Law." Again "the instruction of pupils (*saddhivihārika*) is an important matter for the prosperity of religion. If this is neglected, the extinction of religion is sure to follow."¹⁰⁹⁵ The manner of teaching is thus indicated: "Early every morning a pupil, having chewed tooth-wood, should come to his teacher and offer him tooth-wood and put a washing-basin and a towel at the side of his seat. Having thus served him, the pupil should go and worship the holy image and walk round the temple. Then returning to his teacher, he makes a salutation, holding up his cloak, and with clasped hands, touching (the ground with his head) three times, remains kneeling on the ground. Then with bowed head and clasped hands, he enquires of the teacher, saying: "Let my *upādhyāya* be attentive or let my *āchārya* be attentive; I now make enquiries whether *upādhyāya* has been well through the night, whether his body (lit. four great elements) has been in perfect health, whether he is active and at ease, whether he digests his food well, whether he is ready for the morning meal." Enquiries may be short or full according to circumstances. Then the teacher answers these enquiries concerning his own health. Next, the pupil goes to salute his seniors who are in the neighbouring apartments. Afterwards he reads a portion of the scripture, and reflects on what he has learnt. He acquires new knowledge day by day, and searches into old subjects month after month, without losing a minute."¹⁰⁹⁶

¹⁰⁹² Ibid., p. 237.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Takakusu's Eng., Trans., pp. 120-21.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 116-17.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 236.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 116.

The method of teaching seems to have been chiefly oral. The Buddha did not put his teachings into writing and it was handed down by word of mouth as was the ancient custom.¹⁰⁹⁷ Teaching through questions and answers was the usual rule. This is quite clear from the lessons in the Dialogues of the Buddha and the *Milindā-Pañha*.¹⁰⁹⁸ The *Mahāmangala Sūtra*¹⁰⁹⁹ recommend intercourse with śramaṇas and religious conversations at due seasons. Hindu books analyse the latter into vāda or Samvāda, like that between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*, Jalpa or the raising of difficulties to be cleared up and vitanda-vāda or casuistry and sophistry.¹¹⁰⁰ By these conversations every confusion was unravelled, every lurking error dragged to light, and enquiry on the right lines stimulated and directed. But the most valuable result was obtained by the close association with the teacher that these discussions entailed, and the realisation that virtue was no mere subject for speculation or 'academic' discussion but had to be practised with consistency of aim and power of will. Indeed as the education imparted laid stress on the formation of habits and character rather than on mere intellectual sword-play a higher place was naturally given to the āchārya, explained by I-Tsing as teacher of discipline than to the upādhyāya who conveyed oral instruction. Hence the Bodhicharyā insists that one must act upto, not merely read, the scriptures, for, "the mere reading of pharmaceutical works will not effect a patient's cure."¹¹⁰¹

Buddhist methodology in regard to moral instruction becomes clear in the works of the age of Aśvaghoṣa. In the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* we have first a moral theme propounded, then a story in illustration and then another moral, if necessary, and lastly the conclusion. We have the

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Dwīpabhaṇṣā* XX. 21.

¹⁰⁹⁸ The Buddha and King Ajātaśatru in *Dīgha-Nikāya*, *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, 13-101; The Buddha and Ambathha in *Dīgha-Nikāya*, Ch. I. 10-28 and Ch. II. 1-12; Nāgasena and King Milindā in *Milindā-Pañha* IV. 7. 69; IV. 7. 70; VII. 5. 41; IV. 1. 8; IV. 6-60.

¹⁰⁹⁹ S. B. E., X. p. 43.

¹¹⁰⁰ Compare Vātsyāyana on the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gautama.

¹¹⁰¹ *Pañchatantra* I., pp. 166 and 167.

play of emotion evoked after, as in the 43rd story and dramatic effect aimed at, as there and in the 20th.¹¹⁰² The Abadāna stories are also arranged after a definite plan. They begin and end in quite similar ways, and the moral is invariably pointed out.

It is interesting to find that the Buddha adapted his teachings to the needs and capacity of his disciples. As Watters well puts it: "The Buddha suited his sermons and precepts to the moral and spiritual attainments and requirements of his audience." Those who were low in the scale were led on gradually by the setting forth of simple truths, by parables and lessons and by mild restrictions as to life and conduct. At a later period of his ministry he taught higher truths and inculcated a stricter purity and more thorough self-denial.

The 'project' method of teaching was also employed by the Buddha in the case of the brāhmaṇa Varadwāja. The latter ploughed and sowed for his livelihood and the Buddha therefore converted him by the parable of the sower presented as follows: "Faith is the seed, devotion the rain, modesty the plough-shaft, the mind the tie of the yoke, mindfulness the ploughshare and goad, truthfulness the means to bind, tenderness to untie and energy the team and bullock".

Another characteristic feature of the Buddha's method of teaching and debate was to put and examine his opponent's position first. The Buddha is questioned and he puts a counter-question. Nigrodha the wanderer who had a following of 3000 thought about the Buddha, that by his habit of seclusion "his insight was ruined, he is not at home in conducting an assembly, nor ready in conversation, but occupied only with the fringes of things" and to prove the truth of his opinion asked the Buddha to expound his doctrine. The Buddha, not to be outwitted said: "Difficult is it, Nigrodha, for one of another view, without practice or teaching, to understand that wherein I train up my disciples", and turning the table thus said: "Come now, Nigrodha, ask me a question about your own doctrine." Upon this his followers shouted out: "Wonderful, Sir, the great gifts and powers of the

¹¹⁰² Sylvain Lévi: *Sūtrālaṅkāra* (Nariman's Trans.), Op., Cit., pp. 190 and 191.

samana Gotama in withholding his own theories and inviting the discussion of those of others!" Thus by way of criticising his opponent's doctrine he established his own.

In the Buddha's method of teaching as preserved in the Pāli works we find that sometimes parables alternate with doctrine and didactic discourse. He employs similes drawn from the life of man and the life of nature of which he was such a keen observer. From similes there is sometimes a natural transition to fable and romance. Aśoka also added concrete visual illustrations for teaching the Dhamma. ¹¹⁰³

According to I-Tsing "there are two traditional ways in India of attaining to intellectual power: (1) committing to memory; (2) the alphabet fixes one's ideas. By this way, after a practice of ten days or a month, a student feels his thought rise like a fountain and can commit to memory whatever he has once heard. This is far from being a myth, for I myself have met such men".¹¹⁰⁴ The meaning of this passage is by no means clear, but it certainly brings out the prevalent practice of learning by heart and shows what facility students seem to have gained in doing this. But it is interesting to find that side by side with memorising, thinking and questioning are described as leading to the development of the intellect. Milindā-Paṇḥa¹¹⁰⁵ says:—

" By growth in reputation and in years,
By *questioning* and by the master's aid,
By *thoughtfulness* and by converse with the wise,
By intercourse with men worthy of love,
By residence within a pleasant spot—
By these nine is one's insight purified,
They who have these, their wisdom grows".

Great store was thus set by memorising; but it was learning by heart for constant pondering over the meaning rather than learning by rote.

¹¹⁰³ Rock Edict, IV. Vimānadaśanā hastidaśanā cha apighamdhāni cha ananicha divyāni rūpani daśayitvā.

¹¹⁰⁴ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 182-83.

¹¹⁰⁵ IV. 1. 8.

I-Tsing¹¹⁰⁶ also says: "He (the pupil) reads a portion of the scripture, and *reflects* on what he has learnt. He acquires new knowledge day by day, and *searches into old subjects* month after month without losing a minute." There were thus three steps in the practice of wisdom: study (*śruta*), thought (*chintā*) and meditation (*bhāvanā*).

The method of teaching at Nālandā seems to have been both tutorial and professorial. "They arrange every day about 100 pulpits for preaching and the students attend these discourses without any fail, even for a minute".¹¹⁰⁷ Such lecturers were greatly honoured: "When such men gave daily lectures, they were freed from the business imposed on the monastics. When they went out, they could ride on sedan-chairs but not on horse-back".¹¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless there was close touch between the professors and the students. I-Tsing¹¹⁰⁹ observes: "I, I-Tsing used to converse with these teachers so intimately that I was able to receive invaluable instruction *personally* from them". He further says: "I have always been very glad that I had the opportunity of acquiring knowledge from them (teachers) *personally* which I should otherwise never had possessed and that I could refresh my memory of past study by comparing old notes with new ones".¹¹¹⁰

A great place was also given to discussion and debate, at least in the higher part of the course as is evident from the following account of Hiuen Tsang about Nālandā: "The brethren are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity, to reject the worthless and advance the intelligent".¹¹¹¹ Again, "the day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the Tripitaka are little esteemed and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts

¹¹⁰⁶ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 117.

¹¹⁰⁸ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 64.

¹¹¹⁰ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 185.

¹¹⁰⁷ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 112.

¹¹⁰⁹ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 184.

¹¹¹¹ Watters: Yuan Chwang, p. 162.

and then the streams (of their wisdom) spread far and wide".¹¹¹² Hiuen Tsang records actual cases of such discussions. Once while he was deputed by Śīlabhadra to expound some aspects of *Yogaśāstra*, another learned man Sīpharaśmi was discoursing on quite contrary doctrines in the monastery, when he silenced him by his questions and drove him in shame to leave Nālandā and repair to the Bodhi monastery at Gayā, thence to bring his fellow-student Chandrasīmha of Eastern India to Nālandā for discussion with Hiuen Tsang but Hiuen Tsang prevailed over him at once.¹¹¹³ I-Tsing¹¹¹⁴ speaks in the same strain:—"Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others, they pass two or three years, generally in the Nālandā monastery in Central India or in the country Valabha (Walā) in Western India.....There (in these places) eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men become far-famed for their wisdom. To try the sharpness of their wit, they proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their abilities; there they present their schemes and show their political talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government. When they are present in the House of debate, they raise their seat and seek to prove their wonderful cleverness. When they are refuting heretical doctrines all their opponents become tongue-tied and acknowledge themselves undone. Then the sound of their fame make the five mountains of India vibrate and their renown flows as it were over the four borders. They receive grants of land and are advanced to a high rank; their famous names are as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can follow whatever occupation they like".

¹¹¹² Beal—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 170.

¹¹¹³ Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, pp. 157-58.

¹¹¹⁴ Takakusu's *Eng. Trans.*, pp. 176ff.

CHAPTER VIII.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

In modern days society is no longer a cosmos but has fallen into chaos and this disorder must be remedied if modern civilisation is to survive. As society in the Indian ideal was a community of rational beings, not a fortuitous concourse of atoms, it was regarded as an organism, a body-politic with definite organs, each discharging a definite function for the benefit and health of the whole community. Under this ancient system, youths were trained up for their future functions in society on a caste-basis and this is re-appearing in the West, as specialised and vocational training. Thus while Vedic study is binding on all belonging to the three twice-born castes, a life of learning or an intellectual career was reserved for the brāhmaṇa. The kṣatriya is destined for the political and military and the vaiśya for the economic career. In Adam Smith's phraseology, the former is for 'defence' and the latter for 'opulence.' It is no wonder, therefore, to find Brahminical texts never tired of dilating upon the merits to be acquired by following the duties of one's own caste. On the other hand, the Dharmaśāstras¹¹¹⁵ predict in an equally positive manner, grave misfortunes, in the life to come, for those who neglect the duties of their caste. The Śāstrakāras, however, did not rely upon these injunctions alone for the due observances of caste-duties. They armed the royal authority with specific powers to enforce the same.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹⁵ Āpastamya II. 11. 10 ; II. 2-3. Gautama XI. 29 ; Manu X. 130. See also Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans.), p. 8 ; Vātsāyana's Kāmasūtra, Bk. I. Ch. II. §1. 34.

¹¹¹⁶ Āpastamya II. 10. 12-16 ; II. 11. 1-4 ; II. 27. 18 ; Gautama XI. 31 ; Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans.), p. 8 ; Manu VIII. 418 ; Viṣṇu III. 2 ; Yājñabalkya I. 361 ; Śukranṛsisāra Ch. IV. Section IV. lines, 82-83. Refer in this connection to the execution of śūdra Śambuka by Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa and to the Nasika Cave Inscription which tells us that Gautamīputra "stopped the contamination of the four varṇas" (Ep. Ind. VIII. pp. 60-61).

§ 1. THE EDUCATION OF THE PRIEST.

In dealing with the education which will fit a man for his vocation as a priest it is necessary that we should divest our mind of prejudices and guard ourselves against associating modern ideas with the old state of things. We are accustomed to say that the brāhmaṇas alone could be priests, they alone could teach the Vedas, whereas we have evidences which tend to prove that at least in the earliest times they alone were 'brāhmaṇas' who possessed a knowledge of the Vedas and could perform the function of a priest. Rules were indeed laid down that nobody should serve as a priest who could not prove his descent from three (according to Kauṣītaki Sūtra) or ten (according to Latyāyana Sūtra) generations of ṛṣis.¹¹¹⁷ But these very rules prove indirectly that the unbroken descent in a brāhmaṇa line was yet an ideal and not an actuality. It further shows the conscious attempt towards a closer corporation of priests.

We have, however, not to depend upon negative proof alone to establish our thesis. Authentic ancient texts repeatedly declare that it is knowledge and not descent, that makes a brāhmaṇa. Taittiriya-Saṃhitā¹¹¹⁸ declares: "eṣa bai brāhmaṇa ṛṣirārṣeḥ yaḥ śusruban." "He who has learning is the brāhmaṇa ṛṣi." Again we have in Kāthaka¹¹¹⁹ and Maitrāyaṇīya¹¹²⁰ Saṃhitās:

"Kiṃ brāhmaṇasya pitaram kiṃ u pṛchchasi mātaram
Śrutam ched asmin bedyam sa pitā sa pitāmaha."

"What do you ask about brāhmaṇa father, what do you ask about brāhmaṇa mother? Since one who knows the Veda is the father." We are further told: "The brahminhood of a brāhmaṇa is encompassed by both the Vedas and the Dharmaśāstras; and not by the Vedas only. The divine Atri has said so."¹¹²¹ "He who daily studies the Vedānta, gives up companionship and discusses the Sāṃkhya yoga

¹¹¹⁷ Weber—Ind. Stud. Vol. X. p. 70.

¹¹¹⁸ 30. 1.

¹¹²¹ Atri Saṃhitā I. 346.

¹¹¹⁹ 6. 6. 1. 4.

¹¹²⁰ 48. 1; 107. 9.

is called a Dwija."¹¹²² Śukrāchārya¹¹²³ says: "Not by birth are the brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras and mlechchas separated but by virtue and work. Are all descended from Brahmā to be called brāhmaṇa? Neither through colour nor through ancestors can the spirit worthy of a brāhmaṇa be generated. The brāhmaṇa is so called because of his virtues, e. g., he is habitually a worshipper of the gods with the knowledge, practices and prayers and he is peaceful, restrained and kind." "Again the man who has mastered the sciences and the arts should be the preceptor of all. But one who is unlearned cannot be a preceptor because of birth."¹¹²⁴ These and similar passages seem to indicate that knowledge was looked upon as the primary qualification of a person as brāhmaṇa.

As a matter of fact we find the Pañcha-vimśa Brāhmaṇa speaking of certain persons as royal seers and the later tradition preserved in the Anukramaṇi or index to the composers of the R̥gveda ascribes hymns to such royal seers. Viśwāmitra, Devapi and Janaka became brāhmaṇas through learning.¹¹²⁵ Kavasha, son of Illusha, a low-caste woman, was admitted as a ṛṣi for his purity, learning and wisdom.¹¹²⁶ "Perhaps the most notable feature of his life is that he, śūdra as he was, distinguished himself as a ṛṣi of some of the hymns of the R̥gveda"¹¹²⁷ viz., R̥g. X. 30-34. Viśwāmitra, the Purohit of King Sudas mentioned in the R̥gveda is described in the Pañchavimśa and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas as of royal descent, of the family of Jahnus. Yāska represents a prince Devapi as sacrificing for his brother Śantanu, the king. Similarly, King Viśwāntar sacrifices without the help of a priest in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Upaniṣads tell us of kings like Janaka of Videha, Aśwapati, King of the Kekayas in the Punjab, Ajātaśatru of Kāśi and Prabahana Jābāla of Pāñchāla disputing with and even instructing Brahmins in the lore of the Brahmā. Similarly,

¹¹²² Ibid., I. 367.

¹¹²³ Ch. I. lines 75-80.

¹¹²⁵ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI. 6. 2. 1.

¹¹²⁷ Swāmī Kṛṣṇavarṇa in his paper on "Sanskrit as a living language in India" read before the International Congress of Orientals held in Berlin on the 14th September 1881.

¹¹²⁴ Śukranītisāra, Ch. IV. lines 43-44.

¹¹²⁶ Ait. Brāh., II. 3. 19.

the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad speaks of a king becoming a seer. Satyakāma Jābāla, son of a slave-girl was the founder of a school of the Yajur Veda.¹¹²⁸ Similarly ṛṣi Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa was but a śūdra.¹¹²⁹ If then the brahminhood depended upon the knowledge and learning mainly requisite for Vedic worship, there must have been some specific method by which it was obtained. The method is fortunately referred to in Kauṣītaki, 55, from which we learn that the teacher had the power to confer ārṣeyam or brahminhood upon his student, apparently if the latter were inclined to adopt the profession of a priest and had, in the opinion of the teacher, capacity required for the same. This is beautifully illustrated by a passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹¹³⁰ quoted by Muir.¹¹³¹ We are told: "Sacrifice fled from the Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra and approached to Brahman. Wherefore now also sacrifice depends upon Brahman, upon the brāhmaṇas. Kṣhattra then followed Brahman, and said 'invite me (too to participate) in this sacrifice. Brahman replied 'So be it: then laying aside thy own implements (bows, arrows etc.) approach the sacrifice with the implements of Brahman, in the form of Brahman and having become Brahman.' Kṣhattra rejoined 'Be it so' and laying aside his own implements, approached the sacrifice with those of Brahman, in the form of Brahman and having become Brahman. Wherefore, now also a kṣatriya, when sacrificing, laying aside his own implements approaches the sacrifice with those of Brahman, in the form of Brahman and having become Brahman." There was thus no inherent distinction between a kṣatriya and the one might have been changed into the mode of life and profession. The same idea is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa:¹¹³² "He a king when consecrated (to a brahmin) the condition of a brāhmaṇa" and also in Śaṅkhya Smṛiti. On the authority of these

1128 Chāṇogya Upan.

1129 Compare: "Viśvāmitra, Kṛṣṇa, Mātanga, and others became elevated by special penances and birth" (Sakrantra Ch. IV. Sec. IV. lines 80-81).

1130 VII. 19.

1132 VII. 231.

1131 Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I. p. 368.

1133 III. 2. 39 ff.

and other texts Weber¹¹³⁴ concludes: "Thus every rājanya and vaiśya becomes, through the consecration for sacrifice (dikṣā) a brāhmaṇa during its continuance and is addressed as such." Again we have in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa:¹¹³⁵ "Whosoever sacrifices, does so after having become as it were a brāhmaṇa." So also Kātyāyana says in his Śrauta Sūtra:¹¹³⁶ "The word brāhmaṇa is to be addressed to a vaiśya and a rājanya also," on which the commentator annotates: "The formula 'this brāhmaṇa has been consecrated' is to be used at the sacrifice of a vaiśya and a rājanya also; and not the words 'this rājanya', 'this vaiśya' has been consecrated."¹¹³⁷

Again, as new members could be admitted to a craft-guild only by by some prescribed method, so one could be initiated into this guild of priests only after an approved term of apprenticeship with a Master. This is expressly acknowledged by the Sūtra writers. Thus Āpastamba¹¹³⁸ says: "he (the āchārya) causes him (the pupil) to be born (a second time) by (imparting to him) sacred learning"; and also "this (second) birth is the best"; "the father and mother produce the body only".¹¹³⁹ Again, one "whose father and grand-father have not been initiated (and his two ancestors) are called slayers of the brāhmaṇa. Intercourse, eating and intermarriage with them should be avoided."¹¹⁴⁰ "No religious rite can be performed by a (child) before it has been girt with the sacred girdle, since it is on a level with a śūdra before its new birth from the Veda".¹¹⁴¹ Initiation, not birth, was thus the real claim to brahminhood and we get here a full explanation of those elaborate ceremonies which regulate the relation between a teacher and a student.

The analogy with the guild may be carried further. As many of these guilds (like those of potters and oil-millers) had ultimately developed into a guild of the

¹¹³⁴ Ind. Stud. X. p. 17.

¹¹³⁵ VI. 4. 12.

¹¹³⁶ S. B. E., Vol. II. p. 3.

¹¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 10.

Original Sanskrit
369 and foot-note.

priests was also converted into the brāhmaṇa caste. We come across those craft-guilds in ancient times, and their representatives, forming so many 'castes' in modern days. It would be as much consonant to reason to say, that the membership of the primitive guilds depended upon birth, as to predicate the same of the ancient brāhmaṇa class. It may be noted, however, that the brāhmaṇas of those days did not confine their activities to the function of a priest alone. As we have seen some of them were fighters too, and it is certain that many also followed other professions. But the prohibition to carry arms which we find in the Kauśitaki¹¹⁴² is probably a typical example of the gradual restriction in this respect. Here again we find that conscious attempt towards making the corporation a closer one to which reference has already been made.

We have all along used the expression "guild of priests". It would perhaps be more correct to say "guilds of priests". For we cannot very well believe that all the brāhmaṇas in different parts of the country formed only one guild. Although there must have been some general similarity in their aims, pursuits and manner of living (as is evident from the Kauśitaki),¹¹⁴³ the more coherent organisation could embrace only a limited section. As a matter of fact we hear of various schools of brāhmaṇas at this period, such as the Yajurvedis, Māndhyandins, Maitrāyaṇis, R̥gvedis, Āpastamvas, Āpastamva Hiraṇyakeśins, etc. These very names indicate that the differentiating factors were connected with the Vedic authorities relied upon by them and this, in a manner corroborates the theory that it is not birth but knowledge required by a priest which formed the basis of the guilds of priests. The divisions of brāhmaṇas according to 'śākhā' and 'charaṇa' also leads to the same conclusion. Indeed when learning requisite for the functions of a priest, formed the basis of the guilds, it is natural that groups would be formed according to the special subjects of study. But when in course of time birth took the place of learning, there must have grown up distinctions based upon locality. Already in the

¹¹⁴² 93, 104.

¹¹⁴³ Compare Weber—Ind. Stud. X. 41-160.

Jātakas¹¹⁴⁴ we meet frequently with the terms "Udichcha brāhmaṇa" and phrases conveying distinct pride in birth in such a family. This was the forerunner of the later Kanuaj, Gauḍa, Konkanasth and Tailanga Brahmins.

The nature of the education imparted to a would-be priest and teacher has already been described in Chapter I, Section 4 on "The Religious Factor in Ancient Hindu Education". As we have already remarked, a brāhmaṇa did not always receive only a priestly education. Sanskrit and Pali works as also the inscriptions refer to many brāhmaṇas who were proficient in all the branches of learning. Thus Droṇa, taught military arts not only to the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas but also to a king of the Andhaka family and many other princes. The brothers of Draupadi were taught Bṛhaspati-niti by a Brahmin resident-tutor. Kanaka, the uncle of Kalhana, the Brahmin author of Rājataranginī gave lessons in music to King Harṣa of Kashmere. The Jātakas are replete with the stories of brāhmaṇa youths going to famous teachers to study sabba sippāni and aṭṭhārasa Vijjāṭhānani. Regarding the significance of these evidences from the Jātakas Dr. Fick aptly observes: "The three Vedas were manifestly not the sole subject which the brāhmaṇas were taught during their student days; in several places 'all the sciences' are mentioned as what the brāhmaṇa has to learn and by this are to be understood, over and above the three Vedas, eighteen branches of science.....(which) coincide approximately with the eighteen divisions which are mentioned in the Brahminical systems".¹¹⁴⁵

That the Brahmins studied also profane literature and Vārttā will be evident from the testimony of Manu¹¹⁴⁶ who lays down that a brāhmaṇa should daily study the śāstras such as the Vedas, the Nigamas and other beneficial ones (danyāni cha hitāni) that lead to an increase of intellect. Such a study of profane literature need not necessarily be for fitting the brāhmaṇa student for following the

¹¹⁴⁴ II. 82ff., 43ff.; I. 356ff., 371ff.

¹¹⁴⁵ Fick—Social Organisation in N. E. India in Buddha's time (Eng. Trans. by Prof. S. K. Maity), p. 131.

¹¹⁴⁶ IV. 19.

occupation leading to the production of wealth. It might well have been that he studies the various vidyās to make his education complete and allround. Dr. Narendra Nath Law assigns another reason for the Brahminical study of Vārttā. According to him the brāhmaṇas learn the subject sometimes perhaps for the sake of teaching it to their pupils. Says he: "The brāhmaṇas were not merely teachers of theology and philosophy but also of Economics, Polity including even the art of warfare, and use of weapons, also practical and fine arts and accomplishments".¹¹⁴⁷

§ 2. EDUCATION OF THE SOLDIER.

The kṣatriyas who ordinarily followed the profession of a soldier no doubt represented the nobility, the descendants of the ancient tribal chiefs but there is no reason to suppose that their rank was a closed one or that there was any social exclusiveness about them. The injunction in the Kauśītaki¹¹⁴⁸ that a brāhmaṇa shall not carry arms proves indirectly that formerly even brāhmaṇas accepted the profession of a soldier. Armies of brāhmaṇas existed even in the days of Kautilya.¹¹⁴⁹ From Rājataranginī¹¹⁵⁰ we find that through the might of the wise king Yaśaskara (939-943 A. D.) "the Brahmins devoted (solely) to their studies, did not carry arms". The existence of armies of vaiśyas and śūdras is proved by Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.¹¹⁵¹ Indeed even when the caste system became rigid, the śāstric injunction¹¹⁵² that though ordinarily it is the duty of the kṣatriya to embrace the profession of arms, it was yet the duty of all the twice-born classes to take up arms when Dharma is in danger shows that military training was not the monopoly of a class.

The admission into this guild of warriors was marked by the initiation ceremony. The education of such warriors commenced with Vedic learning in general and was then specialised in the study of Dhanurveda and Rājanīti. The later age at which the kṣatriyas were

¹¹⁴⁷ Indian Antiquary, 1918, p. 240.

¹¹⁴⁹ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmaśāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 417.

¹¹⁵¹ R. Śyāmaśāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 417.

¹¹⁴⁸ 93, 104.

¹¹⁵⁰ VI, 9.

¹¹⁵² Śukranītisāra Ch. IV., line 599.

supposed to start their schooling must be taken to indicate that its character was for them somewhat different from the instruction which the young novice for priesthood received. The latter was at school to be prepared for his future vocation as a priest and teacher and much that he would require to know would be useless to the youths of other professions. The study of the Vedas by the kṣatriya may have included the memorising of the Vedic hymns, an acquaintance with the philosophic teachings of the Upaniṣads and certain parts of the six Vedāṅgas such as were necessary for the understanding of the Vedic texts or for an acquaintance with the duties to be performed in after life. Greater emphasis was undoubtedly laid on his military training.

In the Rāmāyaṇa¹¹⁵³ we find a reference to the military exercises of soldiers which were, however, stopped for a few days on the death of King Daśaratha. That the troops were regularly trained in military arts is evident from the Ayodhyākāṇḍa 67th sarga where we are told that the sages who have assembled in the royal assembly on the death of Daśaratha said in the course of their address to Vaśiṣṭha on the evils that would befall a kingless state, that no body hears any longer the sound of the feet of heroes who are engaged in learning the use of arms. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa 12th sarga we are told that Rāvaṇa after casting a look at the councillors addressed Prahasta, the commander-in-Chief thus: "Hero! order my four-limbed army which is *well-trained in military arts* to defend the city carefully against the enemy". *Military tournaments* were also held for testing the military skill of soldiers. When Bharata went to Rāma in Chitrakūṭa, the latter asked the former the following question: "Do you show favour to those who are *skilled in war* and to those who have proved their valour in the presence of an assembled crowd?"¹¹⁵⁴ That Rāma also took part in tournaments is evident from Ayodhyākāṇḍa 36th sarga where repentant Daśaratha orders Sumanta to send those who took part with Rāma in such tournaments to accompany Rāma in the forest. Indeed the city of Ayodhyā was filled with heroes who were proficient in Dhanurveda.

¹¹⁵³ Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 67th sarga.

¹¹⁵⁴ Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 100th sarga.

It was three *yojanas* in area and nobody dared to give battle within this area and hence it was called *Ayodhyā*.¹¹⁵⁵

In the *Mahābhārata*¹¹⁵⁶ Yudhiṣṭira said to Kṛṣṇa : " When the army is *welltrained* it does fighting work quite well ; *untrained* soldiers are worthless ; therefore considerate people properly *train* them ". Maharṣi Nārada, asked Yudhiṣṭira among others the following questions : " Are you giving military training to the princes with the help of *military experts* ".¹¹⁵⁷ " Has your army succeeded in defeating the enemy, being *trained* by the commanders (*balamukhyas*) ".¹¹⁵⁸ Dhṛtarāṣṭra while speaking to Sañjaya about the qualities of his army says : " They (my soldiers) are experts in climbing, riding, quick march, beating, entering and in coming (out of a fort) and their skill in fighting on elephants, in horsemanship and in charioteering has been *tested* ".¹¹⁵⁹ In the *Ādiparva*¹¹⁶⁰ of the *Mahābhārata* we are told how the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava brothers had their military skill *tested* by their tutor Droṇa and then gave a public demonstration of it before the people in a *military tournament*.

Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* contains many references to military training. According to it "*footmen, horses, charioteers and elephants shall be given necessary training in the art of war at sunrise, on all days but those of the conjunction (of planets); on these occasions of training the king shall ever be present and witness their exercise.*"¹¹⁶¹ Magasthenes remarks : "There are royal stables for horses and elephants and a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine and the horses and elephants to the stables." In the *Arthaśāstra*¹¹⁶² also we find mention of an *Āyudhāgāra* under a Superintendent. It was to this magazine that "soldiers had to return their arms after drill every morning. They could not move about with weapons without passport." "The Superintendent of

¹¹⁵⁵ *Bālakāṇḍa*, 6th sarga.

¹¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 5th adhyāya.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Droṇaparva*, 114th adhyāya.

¹¹⁶¹ *Arthaśāstra* (R. Syāmasāstri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 309-10.

¹¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 310.

¹¹⁵⁶ *Savāparva*, 19th adhyāya.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁰ 34th—37th adhyāyas.

chariots shall also *examine* the efficiency in the training of troops in shooting arrows, in hurling clubs and cudgels, in wearing mail armour, in equipment, in charioteering, in fighting seated on a chariot, and in controlling chariot-horses"¹¹⁶³ "The same rule shall also apply to the Superintendent of the Infantry."¹¹⁶⁴ Kautilya¹¹⁶⁵ also refers to the entire army (*chaturāṅgabala*) *trained* in the skilful handling of all kinds of weapons and in leading elephants, horses and chariots. In describing the qualities of the best army Kautilya¹¹⁶⁶ says that it must be "*trained* in fighting various kinds of battles and skilful in handling various forms of weapons." In discussing the question whether a country with a large number of effete persons is better or a country with a small number of brave persons, Kautilya¹¹⁶⁷ says that "a large number of effete persons is better in as much as they can be employed to do other kinds of work in the camp: to serve the soldiers fighting in the battle-fields and to terrify the enemy by its number. It is also possible to infuse spirit and enthusiasm, *discipline and training*." According to Kautilya¹¹⁶⁸ the troubles of the army among others are:—"That which is specially *trained* to a particular kind of manœuvre and encampment; that which is *trained* in a particular movement in a particular place; and that which is blind (i. e., untrained)." Kautilya¹¹⁶⁹ further observes: "Of armies which are *trained* either to a particular kind of manœuvre and encampment or a particular movement in a particular place, that which is *taught* a special kind of manœuvre and encampment may be taken to fight but not the army whose way of making encampment and marches is only suited to a particular place." Again, "of troops that have lost their leader or which are not *trained*, those that have lost their leader may be taken to fight under the leadership of a different person but not the troops which are not *trained*."¹¹⁷⁰ Kautilya¹¹⁷¹ also refers to the army of *kṣatriyas* "*trained* in the art of wielding weapons." He also refers to "*trained* men"¹¹⁷² as also to "men who are *trained* to fight in desert tracts,

¹¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 175.¹¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 321.¹¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 405.¹¹⁷⁰ Ibid.¹¹⁶⁴ Ibid.,¹¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 417.¹¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 176.¹¹⁶⁷ Ibid.¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 407.¹¹⁷² Ibid., p. 422.

forests, valleys or plains"¹¹⁷³ and to "those who are trained to fight from ditches or height during day and night."¹¹⁷⁴ "The pay of a *trained* soldier" according to Kautilya¹¹⁷⁵ "was 500 paṇas per annum."

The Śukranītisāra also contains many references to military training. Thus we are told that "armies are of two kinds untrained and trained."¹¹⁷⁶ "The *trained* army is that which is skilled in vyūhas or military tactics, the opposite is the untrained."¹¹⁷⁷ Śukra also refers to "watchmen *well-trained* in the use of arms and weapons."¹¹⁷⁸ He further says: "the *un-trained*, inefficient and the raw recruit are all like bales of cotton. The wise should appoint them to other tasks beside warfare."¹¹⁷⁹ "The men, however, can overpower the enemy with a small but *well-trained* army."¹¹⁸⁰

Parades were held twice every day under the supervision of the head of 100 soldiers. Śukrāchārya says: "The man who trains up the soldiers in the morning and in the evening in military parades and who knows the art of warfare as well as the characteristics of battle-fields is the Śatānika."¹¹⁸¹ According to Śukra the king should divide the day and night into thirty muhūrtas¹¹⁸² and spend one muhūrta (i. e., 48 minutes) over the *military exercises of regiments*.¹¹⁸³ Again while discussing the physical advantages and disadvantages of various regions from the military standpoint he says: ¹¹⁸⁴ "That country is excellent in which there are facilities for the regular parade and exercises of one's own soldier."

Śukrāchārya has also pointed out the *proper method of developing the various methods of military strength*—(1) physical, (2) moral and (3) intellectual. Says he: "Strength of physique is to be promoted in the interest of hand-to-hand fights by means of tussles between peers, exercises, parades and adequate food. The king should promote

¹¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 444.

¹¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 308.

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid., line 24.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibid. Ch., IV., lines 356-57.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ibid., Ch., II., lines 286-87.

¹¹⁷⁸ Ibid., Ch., I., line 567.

¹¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁶ Śukranītisāra, Ch., IV., line 19.

¹¹⁷⁸ Ibid., Ch., I., line 577.

¹¹⁸⁰ Ibid., line 362.

¹¹⁸² Ibid. Ch., I., line 571.

¹¹⁸⁴ Ibid., Ch., IV., lines 454-55.

the strength of valour and prowess by means of hunting excursions against tigers (and big games) and exercises among heroes and valorous people with arms and weapons. The strength of the army is to be increased by good payments, that of arms and weapons by penances and regular exercises and that of intelligence by the companionship of (or intercourse with) the men learned in the śāstras."¹¹⁸⁵

"The *military regulations*" according to Śukrāchārya "should be communicated to the soldiers every eighth day."¹¹⁸⁶ "The king" says he "should daily make the soldiers hear of the virtues that promote valour and witness the musical and dancing performances that also tend to augment prowess."¹¹⁸⁷ That the troops¹¹⁸⁸ and the military officers¹¹⁸⁹ had their appropriate uniforms is evident from Śukranītisāra. Śukra even lays down rules about *tidiness and careful handling of arms and uniforms as items of military discipline*. Says he: "They (the troops) should keep the arms, weapons and uniforms quite bright (and ready for use)."¹¹⁹⁰

According to Śukra "full pay is to be granted to those who are *trained soldiers*. Half pay is to be given to those who are *under military training*."¹¹⁹¹

According to him "the king should every morning and evening exercise himself with elephants, horses, chariots and other conveyances. And he should learn as well as teach the military arrangements of soldiers."¹¹⁹² In another place Śukra says: "The king should always practise military parades with the troops and strike the objective by means of missiles at the stated hours."¹¹⁹³ In yet another place¹¹⁹⁴ he says that the king should make the children of his family proficient in the science of archery (Dhanurveda) and in the feats of arms (Sauryavidyā). The terms 'Dhanurveda' and 'Sauryavidyā' probably refer to the theoretical and applied branches of military education.

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid., Ch. IV, section VII, lines 32-37.

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid., Ch. V., lines 183-84.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibid., Ch. II., line 296.

¹¹⁸⁸ Ibid., lines 786-87.

¹¹⁸⁹ Ibid., Ch. IV., section VII, lines 779-80.

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid., line 768.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibid., Ch. IV., Section VII, line 775.

¹¹⁸⁸ Ibid., Ch. IV., section VII, line 775.

¹¹⁸⁹ Ibid., Ch. I., lines 663-64.

¹¹⁹⁰ Ibid., Ch. II, lines 43-46.

King Hemaṅgadā of the Kalingas bore scars on his forearm on account of the constant practice in throwing arrows.¹¹⁹⁵ Practice of archery by King Daśaratha is also referred to in Raghuvamśam.¹¹⁹⁶ We are also told of the hands of princes whose skin had become hard by the constant friction of the bow-string.¹¹⁹⁷ Bāṇa¹¹⁹⁸ also describes the stout forearm of Kumāragupta, a Mālava prince as "marked by the bow-string's scar". Bāṇa¹¹⁹⁹ describes Harṣa as more delighting in the bow than Droṇa, more unerring with the arrow than Aśwatthāmā".

Even at the time¹ of Hiuen Tsang's visit "the national guard are heroes of choice valour and as the profession is hereditary, they become adepts in military tactics.....They are perfect experts with all the implements of war *having been drilled* in them for generations".¹²⁰⁰

Among the Rājputs, the youthful candidates were initiated to military fame by the ceremony of Kharg-bandāi which took place when the young Rājput was considered fit to bear arms. At the ceremony the young warrior was presented with a lance and his sword was buckled to his side.¹²⁰¹ From Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī¹²⁰² we find that Astrapūjā was prevalent in Kashmere in the reign of King Kalasa. Astrapūjā consists of certain rites in honour of the sword and other weapons as are performed to the present day by the Rājputs of the Dogrā country.¹²⁰³ In the Mahābhārata¹²⁰⁴ we find Viṣṇu advocating the worship of the sword (kharga).

William Ward referring to a work in Sanskrit on the military arts called Dhanurveda, says: "It was contrary to the laws of war to smite a warrior overcome by another or one who had turned his back or who was running away; or one fearful or he who had asked for quarter or he who had declined further fighting or one unarmed; or a single charioteer who had alone survived in the engagement: or one deranged; or females, children or old men".¹²⁰⁵ There were certain rules also with

¹¹⁹⁵ Raghuvamśam VI. 56.

¹¹⁹⁶ IX. 63.

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibid., XI. 40.

¹¹⁹⁸ Harṣacharita—Cowell and Thomas, p. 120.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 63.

¹²⁰⁰ Watters—Yuan Chwang, Vol. I., p. 171.

¹²⁰¹ Tod—Annals of Rājasthān, pp. 63, 512.

¹²⁰² V. 246.

¹²⁰³ Stein—The chronicles of Kashmere by Kalhana, Vol. I., p. 289 foot-note.

¹²⁰⁴ Śāntiparva, 166th adhyāya.

¹²⁰⁵ A View of the Hindus, II. 461.

regard to combats. In fighting for instance with the club or mace, it was unlawful to strike below the navel. The spirit of chivalry thus inculcated must have set before these young soldiers a high ideal of valour and virtue.

But in the later Mediæval Hindu period, Hindu intelligence seems to have revelled more in the study of poetics and dramaturgy than in the more necessary study of the art of war. The army consisted chiefly of the quotas furnished by the *Sāmantas*. Such a feudal army cannot be relied on either in respect of numbers or of efficiency. The attention and affluence of kings were bestowed more upon court-poets than upon generals; the stage attracted the people more than the camp. Moreover, owing to the recrudescence of the doctrine of *Ahimsā* due to the rise of new Vaiṣṇavism and the progress and popularity of Jainism, of Lingayat and other sects, the great body of the people with the exception of the Rajputs gave up animal diet and accepted the non-slaughter of animals as a binding religious duty. Thus they became unfit as well as unwilling to fight.¹²⁰⁶ There are no doubt examples of Brahmin and even brave Jaina generals and soldiers in this period but the generality of the people being unaccustomed to fight and becoming by their food unaggressive and docile when the Rajputs failed, all the Hindu kingdoms from the Sutlej to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalayas to the Vindhya succumbed and almost willingly submitted to the Moslem yoke within the short period of a quarter and a century.

§ 3. COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

The *vaiśyas* represented the mass of the people at large from which, the two upper classes were recruited.¹²⁰⁷ They along with the *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* were to be initiated with the sacred thread as a preliminary to entering upon the study of the Veda which was to

¹²⁰⁶ Marco Polo remarks: "They (the people of the country) are most wretched soldiers.

They will kill neither beast, nor bird nor anything that hath life" (George B. Parks—Travels of Marco Polo, p. 276.

¹²⁰⁷ Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11. 2. 7. 16; 12. 7. 3. 8; Fick, p. 163; Senart—Castes, p. 153; and Oldenburg in Z. D. M. G. Vol. Li., p. 280.

last at least twelve years.¹²⁰⁸ The later age at which the vaiśyas were supposed to start their schooling may be taken to indicate that they were not expected to attain to the same proficiency in Vedic learning as the young novice for priesthood. Moreover, with regard to the vaiśyas trade, rearing cattle and agriculture were regarded as their special pursuits¹²⁰⁹ and in fitting themselves for these, they would have less benefit from the Vedic schools than even the kṣatriyas.

Therefore, for the vaiśya boy there was a nice system of commercial education. Thus in the Mahāvagga¹²¹⁰ we are told of three professions—lekḥā, gaṇanā and rūpa. The Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kalinga also refers to these branches of learning.¹²¹¹ Lekḥā signifies the art of writing which includes not only the niceties of style and diction but also the different forms of correspondence¹²¹² as will be seen from Ch. X. of the Adhyakṣa-prachāra of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra which in its concluding verse tells us that there were not one but many verses on the subject. Kautilya¹²¹³ thus tell us :✓

“ Writs are of great importance to kings, in as much as treaties and ultimata leading to war depend upon writs.....

“ As to a writ addressed to a lord (iśwara) it shall contain a polite mention of his country, his possessions, his family and his name; and as to that addressed to a common man (aniśwara) it shall make a polite mention of his country and name.

“ Having paid sufficient attention to the caste, family, social rank, age, learning (śruta), occupation, property, character (śīla), blood-relationship of the addressee, as well as to the place and time of writing, the writer shall form a writ befitting the position of the person addressed.

¹²⁰⁸ Gautama I; Āpastamba I. 1; Manu X. 1.

¹²⁰⁹ Manu X. 79.

¹²¹⁰ S. B. E., XIII. p. 201ff.

¹²¹¹ Lekḥa rūpa gaṇanā vyavahāra vidhiviśāradena sarvavidyāvadātēna. Compare—
Muddagaṇanasāṅkhaḥlekḥāḥpatthanesu in the Milindā-Pañha, 59, 13.

¹²¹² Compare 'correspondents' in Jātaka No. 96.

¹²¹³ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), pp. 80-83.

"Arrangement of subject-matter (arthakrama), relevancy (sambandha) completeness, sweetness, dignity, and lucidity are the necessary qualities of a writ.

"The act of mentioning facts in the order of their importance is arrangement.

"When subsequent facts are not contradictory to facts just or previously mentioned and so on till the completion of the letter, is termed relevancy.

"Avoidance of redundancy or deficiency in words or letters; impressive description of subject-matter by citing reasons, examples and illustrations; and the use of appropriate and suitably strong words (śrantapada) is completeness.

"The description in exquisite style of a good purport with a pleasing effect is sweetness.

"The use of words other than colloquial (agrāmya) is dignity.

"The use of well-known words is lucidity.....

"The word "iti" is used to indicate the completion of a writ; and also to indicate an oral message as in the phrase "vāchikamasyeti," "an oral message along with this writ."

"Calumniation, commendation, inquiry, narration, request, refusal, censure, prohibition, command, conciliation, promise of help, threat and persuasion are the thirteen purposes for which writs are issued.....

"Also writs of information, of command and of gift; likewise writs of remission, of licence, of guidance, of reply and of general proclamation are the varieties.....

"Clumsiness, contradiction, repetition, bad grammar and misarrangement are the faults of a writ.

"Black and ugly leaf and uneven and uncoloured writing cause clumsiness (akānti).

"Subsequent portion disagreeing with previous portion of a letter, causes contradiction (vyāghāta).

"Stating for a second time what has already been said above is repetition.

"Wrong use of words in gender, number, time, and case is bad grammar (apaśabda).

"Division of paragraphs (varga) in unsuitable places, omission of necessary division of paragraphs and violation of any other necessary qualities of a writ constitute misarrangement (samplava).

"Having followed all sciences and having fully observed forms of writing in vogue, these rules of writing royal writs have been laid down by Kautilya in the interest of Kings."

Viṣṇu Saṃhitā¹²¹⁴ lays down thirteen sūtras for the writing of documents which he classifies under three heads. These documents must have distinct, clear letters, page-marks and a seal affixed thereto.¹²¹⁵ Śukrāchārya says: "Documents are of two kinds—for describing works or deeds and keeping accounts of income and expenditure. Each however has been greatly diversified through varieties of usage and practice".¹²¹⁶ He describes fifteen kinds of business and legal documents,¹²¹⁷ the deed of compromise,¹²¹⁸ the documents of private nature like kṣemapatra and vāṣāpatra.¹²¹⁹ "The documents for keeping accounts are of various kinds according to the differences in amount, great and small, values and measurements".¹²²⁰

In this connection we may well refer to the Kharosthi inscriptions and documents that have been recovered from a large area in S. E. Turkisthan from Niya to the extremity of the Lobnor region.¹²²¹ These may be conveniently divided into five classes according to the materials on which they were written: (1) documents on wooden tablets, with clay seals on some of them (2) documents on leather (3) paper documents (4) writings on silk (5) inscriptions on frescoes of shrines.

¹²¹⁴ Ch. VII.

¹²¹⁵ Ibid., Ch. VII. 12.

¹²¹⁶ Śukranṭisāra, Ch. II, lines 599-600.

¹²¹⁷ Ibid., lines 601-28.

¹²¹⁸ Ibid., lines 629-30.

¹²¹⁹ Ibid., lines 637-40.

¹²²⁰ Ibid., lines 643-44.

¹²²¹ Kharosthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkisthan. 2 Vols. Transcribed and Edited by A. M. Boyer.

The interest of the first three classes lie in the fact that they are of an altogether secular character and are written in a sort of Prakrit dialect. Therein we find official advice as to the decision of different disputes or other instructions to the local officials: deeds of agreement, bonds and similar legal instruments; records of accounts, or lists, public or private; letters of information (technically known as vimnadi—lekha) etc. Similar documents on wood and paper in Chinese have been recovered from different sites in E. Turkisthan¹²²² some of which have been published by M. Chavannes.¹²²³ Similar records on wood and paper in Tibetan¹²²⁴ have been recovered from the Miran and Mazartagh sites by Sir A. Stein. Documents of a similar nature in Khotanese¹²²⁵ and Uigurish¹²²⁶ have also been found. Documents of a similar nature are still use in Eastern Turkisthan as we know from a few extracts in R. B. Shaw's Sketch of the Turki language.

Now one may ask the question, from which country this particular mode of composing letters, both official and private, was first introduced in the far off region of Central Asia. This is not the place to discuss the much disputed theory about the possibility of an early immigration from India to this part of Asia as found in legends¹²²⁷ or to find out how far the traditional tales about Khotan handed down by the Tibetans about the invasion of Soked (Saketa) by Li (Khotan) is based on fact.¹²²⁸ But it is certain that the discovery in the Lobnor region of records which are not only written in an alphabet used in India—for Kharosthi is essentially the alphabet of Gāndhāra—but also in an Indian dialect viz., Prakrit, showing the use of this foreign language for purposes of administration even at the very threshold of China cannot be well-accounted for by these traditional tales.

¹²²² Serindia, General Index, pp. 15-20, and Ancient Khotan, App. A.

¹²²³ Ibid., p. 1329.

¹²²⁴ Rev. A. H. Francke, Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkisthan, J. R. A. S. 1914, p. 37ff.

¹²²⁵ Hœrnle, Reports 1902, Pt. II., p. 36ff.

¹²²⁶ Serindia, pp. 84, 1175; Graenwedel, Bericht p. 181ff.

¹²²⁷ Ancient Khotan, I. p. 156.

¹²²⁸ Sten Konow, S. B. A. W., 1916, p. 820 and J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 339ff.

But the existence of the Kushana empire which included both Chinese Turkisthan and N. W. India and the extension of Buddhism into the heart of Central Asia by this Empire seem to supply a satisfactory answer to our question. The stereotyped complimentary phrases used in the Kharosthi documents are pre-eminently Indian and sometimes Buddhistic in nature. Stein has also noticed how the style of writing in these records follows closely the instructions given in the Kashmerian manual *Lokaprakāśa*.¹²²⁹ It seems certain, therefore, that like the script and the language the mode of composing these letters, official and private, was introduced from India and probably from the N. W. parts.

The word 'gaṇanā' for similar reasons cannot mean 'arithmetic' but 'accounts,' corresponding to 'gaṇanākhyā' of Kautilya. Even in later times this word had this meaning and we thus find the term 'gaṇanāpati' used by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹²³⁰ and understood correctly by Dr. Stein¹²³¹ to denote "Head of Account Office." Kautilya¹²³² says:

"The superintendent of accounts shall have the Accountants office constructed with doors facing either the North or the East, with seats (for clerks) kept apart and with shelves of *account-books* well-arranged.

"Therein the number of several departments; the description of the work carried on and of the results realised in the several manufactories (*karmānta*); the amount of profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, the amount of *vyāji* (premia in kind or cash) realised,—the status of government agency employed, the amount of wages paid, the number of free labourers engaged (*viṣṭi*) pertaining to the investment of capital on any work; likewise in the case of gems and commodities of superior or inferior value, the rate of their price, the rate of their barter, the counter-weights (*pratimāna*) used in weighing them, their number, their weight and their cubical measure, the history of customs, professions and transactions of countries, villages, families, and corporations, the gains in the form of gifts to the King's

¹²²⁹ Ancient Khotan I, p. 365, n. 8.

¹²³⁰ V. 26.

¹²³¹ The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 189.

¹²³² *Arthashastra* (R. Śyamaśāstri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 69-72.

courtiers, their title to possess and enjoy lands, remission of taxes allowed to them and payment of provisions and salaries to them; the gains to the wives and sons of the king in gems, lands, prerogatives and provisions made to remedy evil portents; the treaties with issues of ultimatum to and payments of tribute from, or to friendly or inimical kings—all these shall be regularly entered in prescribed *registers*.

“From these books, the superintendent shall furnish the accounts as to the forms of work in hand, of works accomplished, part of works in hand, of receipts, of expenditure, of net balance and of tasks to be undertaken in each of the several departments.

“To supervise works of high, middling and low description, superintendents with corresponding qualifications shall be employed

.....

“Accounts shall be submitted in the month of Āṣāḍha.....

“When an accountant has not prepared the table of daily accounts (akṛtāhorūpaharam), he may be given a month more (for its preparation)

.....

“If an accountant has to write only a small portion of the accounts pertaining to net revenue, he may be allowed five nights to prepare it.”

In chapter II.¹²³³ of his Śukranitisāra, Śukrachārya also describes the *technique of keeping accounts*.

It is equally interesting to find Kautilya mentioning ‘*audit*’¹²³⁴ and ‘*examination of accounts*’¹²³⁵ among the duties of the Collector-General. He also refers to *checking the accounts* kept by an accountant as the duty of the superintendent of Accounts. Says he: “The table of daily accounts submitted by him (an accountant) along with the net revenue shall be checked with reference to the regulated form of of righteous transactions and precedents and by applying such arithmetical processes as addition, subtraction, inference and by espionage. It shall also be verified with reference to (such division of times as) days, five nights, pakṣas, months, four-months and the year. The

¹²³³ Lines 747-73.

¹²³⁵ Ibid., p. 68.

¹²³⁴ Arthadāstra (R. Śyāmadāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 67.

receipt shall be verified with reference to the place and time pertaining to them, the form of their collection (i. e., capital, share), amount of the present and past produce, the person who has paid it, the person who caused its payment, the officer who fixed the amount payable and the officer who received it. The expenditure shall be verified with reference to the cause of the profit from any source in the place and time pertaining to each item, the amount payable, the amount paid, the person who ordered the collection, the person who remitted the same, the person who delivered it and the person who finally received it. Likewise the net revenue shall be verified with reference to the place, time and source pertaining to it, its standard of fineness and quality and the persons who are employed to guard the deposits and magazines (of grains, etc)."¹²³⁶

The word 'rūpa' is taken by Professor Rhys Davids to mean 'money-changing' and by Dr. Buhler 'commercial and agricultural arithmetic.' But as Professor D. R. Bhāṇḍārkar¹²³⁷ has pointed out, in Chapter XII. of *Adhyakṣa-Prachāra* of Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*, Kautilya speaks of 'rūpya-rūpa' and 'tāmra-rūpa' which cannot but signify silver and copper coins respectively. He also signifies an officer 'rūpa-darśaka,' the examiner of coins, so that rūpa must be the science of coinage, a study of which is essentially necessary for a stable home and foreign trade.

Manu also lays down an ambitious scheme of commercial education as part of the education of the vaiśya. Says he: "(The vaiśya must possess the knowledge of) defects or excellences of articles, the good or evil traits of countries, profits or losses in manufactured articles..... He must know the wages of artisans and workmen and languages of different races of men, shall be able to forecast the increase or decrease in the prices, and amelioration and deterioration in the quality of an article at a particular place and time as well as the mode of selling and buying."¹²³⁸ Thus Manu's curriculum of commercial education for the vaiśya includes rudiments of commercial geography, arithmetic and some languages as well as the practical details of trade.

¹²³⁶ Ibid., p. 72.

¹²³⁷ Ancient Indian Numismatics.

¹²³⁸ Manu IX. 331-32.

In the Lokaprakāśa¹²³⁹ of Kṣemendra (middle of the eleventh century) we find a large number of forms for commercial contracts, *huṇḍikas* (bills of exchange), bonds, official orders etc. In these forms the use of the word *dinnāra* (also written *dinar*) in the technical sense of 'cash' is extremely common. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹²⁴⁰ the terms "śreyas" and "aśreyas" are used as merchantile terms, corresponding to our 'profit' and 'loss' or 'credit' and 'debit.'¹²⁴¹ Kautilya¹²⁴² also refers to bills of exchange (*ādeśa*). *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹²⁴³ also refers to such bills of exchange (*huṇḍika*). It is unnecessary to enumerate here all the numerous passages of the Lokaprakāśa in which references to commercial contracts etc., are met with. It will suffice to refer the reader to the quotations given in Professor A. Weber's *Indische Studien*¹²⁴⁴ and to the formulæ of a contract which is reproduced below as a typical example:¹²⁴⁵

"Deyam śrī prāpte sati biṣaya Jayavaneya (the modern Zevan) dām (ara) amukenāmuktaputreṇa keam vā neśāne sati dharmataḥ dīnārasahasradaśake anke di (10,000, etc) dīnārā adyārabhya samvatsaram tāvāt prāptatavāt di (nnāra) sahasra ekam nyāyaprayaparihāre sati ruddhā nibandham nyāytāṇḍatayā(?) yasya hasteyam huṇḍikā tasyaivam."

The text of Kṣemendra represents a strange mixture of the usual *Kośa* and a practical hand-book. Though a great deal of the information given in it is decidedly old and probably from the hand of our well-known Kṣemendra, there are unmistakable proofs both in the form and contents of the book, showing that it has undergone considerable alterations and additions down even to the seventeenth century. And it is just this circumstance which strengthens the assumption that the work had remained for centuries in uninterrupted use as a practical manual.

¹²³⁹ Prakāśa II. and IV.

¹²⁴⁰ VIII. 136.

¹²⁴¹ Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. II., p. 12 foot-note.

¹²⁴² Arthasāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), pp. 189, 227.

¹²⁴³ V. 266, 302.

¹²⁴⁴ XVIII. pp. 289-412.

¹²⁴⁵ For a similar *huṇḍika* form see *Ibid.*, p. 342.

It may be argued with regard to the teaching of these commercial subjects that at first they were learnt by the boy from his father in the actual course of business and probably amounted in most cases to little more than the minimum which would be necessary for the successful carrying on of the particular trade in which he was engaged. Thus knowledge of the various languages of men need not have meant more than a slight acquaintance with the speech of foreigners with whom trade brought him into touch, picked up in his intercourse with them and a knowledge of the good or evil traits of countries would be gathered in the same way. Thus the commercial education of the young vaiśya would, at the earliest period at any rate, be domestic and he would learn something from his father in the actual course of business.

But evidences regarding the existence of trade-guilds with an Alderman (Jeṭṭaka, Prathama Kulika or Seṭṭhi) at its head are so copious in ancient Indian literature¹²⁴⁶ and inscriptions¹²⁴⁷ that it is not unlikely that on the analogy of the craft-guilds they might have made some provision for the education of commercial apprentices. For, Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* clearly refers to the training of merchants and clerks under a teacher. Says he: "Courtesans, the official (kāyastha) the clerk (divira) and the merchant, being (all) deceitful by nature, are (in this respect) superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been *trained under a teacher's advice*."¹²⁴⁸ Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra*

¹²⁴⁶ Jātaka I. 368; II. 295; Gaṇṭama XI. 21; Chullavagga VI. 41., S. B. E., XX. p. 179; Mahāvagga VIII., 1-16ff., S. B. E. XVII., p. 181ff.; Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), pp. 190, 228.

¹²⁴⁷ Pehoa Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 184; Harṣa Stone Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. pp. 116ff.; Belgaum Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 18; Inscription of the tenth year of Jātavarman Vira Pāṇḍya, Govt. Epigraphist's Report, 1915, p. 104; Inscription from Yewur, Ep. Ind. Vol. XII. p. 273; Niḍagundi Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 12; Jannar Inscription, Luders No. 1180; Also Ep. Indica, IV. p. 296, foot-note 2; Ibid., V. p. 9; Ibid., IV. 290; Ep. Carnatica, Vol. VII. S. 118; Govt. Epigraphist's Report, 1913, pp. 99-100; Ibid., 1919, p. 5, No. 10; Ibid., 1913, p. 21, No. 141; Ibid., 1915, p. 48, No. 478; Ibid., 1916, p. 121; Ibid., 1919, p. 18, No. 216; The clay-seals discovered at Baṣārḥ, Arch. Surv. Report, 1903-04, p. 104. Seal Inscriptions discovered in Vaiśālī, Ibid., 1913-14, p. 122.

¹²⁴⁸ Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. II., p. 12.

refers not only to men "possessed of the knowledge of the sciences dealing with agriculture and the plantation of bushes and trees (Kṛṣitantragulma-vṛkṣāyurvedajñāḥ)" [R. Śyāmsāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 142] but also to men "who are *trained* in such sciences" (Ibid.).

Moreover, it is to be noted that there exist in India at the present time what are called Mahājani schools. These exist in several market-towns where the Mahājans or local traders would combine in giving employment to a teacher who would teach their sons writing and accounts, so as to prepare them to follow their own calling. These schools have probably existed from old times but like so many things in India, it is difficult to say whether they are really very ancient or not. But whenever they were started, it must have been because the traders found it more satisfactory for a boy to have acquired some education before he began actual work in the market.

§ 4. TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

The śūdras, it is claimed, have no right to approach the sacred fire (i. e., perform sacrifice) or to read the sacred texts. There are, however, passages in the early texts which clearly assert these rights.¹²⁴⁹

¹²⁴⁹ The passages are:—

- (1) "Yathemāṃ bāchaṃ kalyāṇi mā badāni jāneyyaḥ
Brahmarājnyāvyāṃ śūdrāya chāryāya cha svāya chāraṇāya cha
Priyodevānāṃ dakṣiṇāyai dāturiha bhūyāsamayaṃ me kāmāḥ samṛdhyatā-
mupāmādo namatu".
—Yajurveda XXVI 2.
- (2) "Satyamahaṃ gaviraḥ kābyenasatyanjātenāsmi jātavedā
Na me dāso na me Āryo mahitwā brataṃ mīmāya yadahaṃ dhariṣye."
—Atharvaveda V. 2. 11.
- (3) "Brahma bai stomānaṃ tribhūt, kṣhatraṃ pañchadaśo, biśaḥ sapṭadaśaḥ
śūdro barṇa ekabhiṣaḥ."
—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa IV. 8. 1.
- (4) "Ahīti brāhmaṇasyāgahyādrabeti vaiśyasya cha rājanya baṇḍhośchādhābeti
śūdrasya"
—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I. 1. 1. 4. 19.
- (5) "Habiṣkṛdēhīti brāhmaṇasya habiṣkṛdāgahīti rājanyasya habiṣ kridā
drabeti vaiśysya habiṣkṛdādhābeti śūdrasya prathamam bāba
sarbeṣām"

—Āpastamba Śrautasūtra I. 19.

Some of the commentators,¹²⁵⁰ however, have entirely repudiated the right of the śūdras to Vedic study and liturgy. Nevertheless, even these authorities have frankly admitted these rights of the Rathakāras and the Niśādas who according to these teachers themselves, were not included in the three higher classes or are even non-Aryans as proved by Paṇḍit Vidhaśekhara Bhaṭṭāchārya.¹²⁵¹

- (6) "Achāntodakāya gauriti nāpita strīrbruyāt muñchagā baruṇa pāśāt.
Tameba nāpitaṃ muñcha gāmiti mantraṃ bruyāt."
—Govila Gṛhyasūtra IV. 10.
- (7) "Tathaibābritā niśādashapatiṃ yājayet".—Āpastamba Śrautasūtra IX. 14.
- (8) "Śūdrā vājasaneyinaḥ"—Vasiṣṭha.
- (9) "Śūdrobā charita brataḥ"—Gautama.
- (10) "Palārthatwāt karmaṇaḥ śāstraṃ sarvādhikāraṃ syāt."
—Jaimini's Pūrva Mīmāṃsā VI. 1.
- (11) "Kartūbā śruti samyogādbidhiḥ kātarsnena gamyate".
—Jaimini's Pūrva Mīmāṃsā VI. 1.
- (12) "Sthapatirniśādaḥ syāt śabda sāmāhāt."—Jaimini's Pūrva Mīmāṃsā VI. 1.
- (13) Śabaraswāmī thus sums up the views of Bādari: "So it is clear that Bādari thought that everyone had a right to the scriptures".
—Mīmāṃsā sūtra VI. 1. 27, 29.
- (14) "Śrābayaechaturō baruṇ kṛtvābrāhmaṇamagrataḥ
Vedasyādhyayanam hidaṃ tachcha kāryam mahat smṛtam."
—Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 328th adhyāya.
- (15) "Chatwāro baruṇ yajñamimaṃ bahanti"
—Mahābhārata, Banaparva, 104th adhyāya.
- (16) "Śūdrānāṃ duṣṭakarmaṇāmapanayanam".—Pāraṣkara Gṛhyasūtra II. 60.
- (17) "Māskarī observes: "Thus the upanayana is only for a savarna, an ambaṣṭha and a niśāda. It is said in a smṛti: 'Having initiated a savarna one should teach him the science of archery; having initiated an ambaṣṭha, the science of medicine; and having initiated a niśāda the training of elephants.'"
- (18) "One should initiate also a well-qualified śūdra and teach him (medical science), but omitting Vedic mantras
—Śaśrūta-Saṃhitā (Nirṇayasāgara edition, I. 2. 5).
- (19) "Śūdrānāṃ brahmacharyatvaṃ munivḥ kaiśchidiṣyate".—Yājñabalkya.
- (20) "Vidyārathaṃ brahmachārī syāt sarbeṣāṃ pālano gṛhī"—Śukranīti.

¹²⁵⁰ Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra I. 1. 6.; Āpastamba's Yajñaparivṛtasūtra I. 2; Jaimini's Mīmāṃsāsūtra VI. 1. 25-33, etc.

¹²⁵¹ The Viśvabhārati Quarterly, October 1923, pp. 270-77.

We all know that the vaiśyas and the śūdras never formed any homogeneous people but remained a conglomeration of different groups of people following different professions and different rules of life. The Vedic literature alone supplies the names of a number of functional groups which correspond to recognised castes of the present day.¹²⁵² In course of time some of these (functional groups) developed into guilds. The Mūga-Pakkha Jātaka¹²⁵³ refers to the existence of eighteen such guilds. It is not possible to determine what these conventional eighteen guilds were, but we get a considerably greater number by collecting together all scattered references in literature and inscriptions—(1) cultivators¹²⁵⁴ (2) traders,¹²⁵⁵ including caravan traders (3) herdsmen¹²⁵⁶ (4) money-lenders¹²⁵⁷ (5) workers in wood¹²⁵⁸ (6) workers in metal including gold and silver¹²⁵⁹ (7) Leather workers¹²⁶⁰ (8) workers fabricating hydraulic engines (odaymtrika)¹²⁶¹ (9) bamboo-workers (vāsakara)¹²⁶² (10) braziers (kāsakara)¹²⁶³ (11) weavers¹²⁶⁴ (2) potters¹²⁶⁵ (13) oil-millers¹²⁶⁶ (14) painters¹²⁶⁷ (15) corn-dealers (dhamñika)¹²⁶⁸ (16) garland-makers and flower-sellers¹²⁶⁹ (17) mariners¹²⁷⁰ (18) robbers and freebooters¹²⁷¹ (19) forest-police who guard the caravans¹²⁷² (20) workers in stone¹²⁷³ (21) ivory-workers¹²⁷⁴ (22) jewellers¹²⁷⁵ (23) rush-workers and basket-makers¹²⁷⁶ (24) dyers¹²⁷⁷ (25) fisher folk¹²⁷⁸ (26) butchers¹²⁷⁹ (27) barbers and shampooers.¹²⁸⁰

¹²⁵² Vedic Index, II. pp. 585-86.

¹²⁵⁴ Gautama XI. 21.

¹²⁵⁶ Gautama XI. 21.

¹²⁵⁸ Jātaka VI. 427.

¹²⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁶² Jannar Inscription (Luders No. 1165.

¹²⁶⁴ Nāsika Inscription (Luders No. 1137; Ep. Ind. VIII, pp. 82-86.

¹²⁶⁷ Jātaka VI. 427.

¹²⁶⁹ Jātaka III. 405.

¹²⁷¹ Jātaka III. 388; IV. 430.

¹²⁷⁸ Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, pp. 90ff.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁵³ Jātaka VI. 1; compare Jātaka VI. 427.

¹²⁵⁵ Gautama XI. 21; Jātaka I. 368; II. 295.

¹²⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁶¹ Nāsika Inscription (Luders No. 1137; Ep. Ind. VIII, pp. 82-86.

¹²⁶³ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁸ Luders No. 1180.

¹²⁷⁰ Jātaka IV. 137.

¹²⁷² Jātaka II. 335.

¹²⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁰ Ibid.

These guilds provided for an efficient system of technical education by their apprentice system. The laws relating to the apprenticeship are thus stated by Nārada :¹²⁶¹

“ Swaśilpa michchhaunnārhatuṃ bāndhabānāmanugyayā,
 Āchāryasya basedante kālam kṛtwā suniśchitam,
 Āchāryaḥ śikṣayedenaṃ swagṛha dattasoganam,
 Nachānyatkārayet karma putrabatchchainamācharet,
 Śikṣayantamadīṣṭaṃ ya āchāryaṃ samparityajet,
 Balādbāsaitabyaḥ syādbadhabandhaicha sorhati,
 Śikṣitopi kutaṃ kālamantebāso samāpabruyāt,
 Tatra karma cha yat kuryādāchāryasyaibatātfalam,
 Gṛhitaśilpaḥ samaye kṛtwāchāchāryapradakṣiṇām,
 Saktitaśchānumānyai namantebāso nibarttyante
 Betanaṃ bā yadi kṛtaṃ jñatwāśiṣyasya kauśalam
 Antebāso samādadyāna chānyasya gṛhe baset ”.

“ If a young man wishes to be initiated into the art of his own craft, with the sanction of his relations, he must go and live with a master, the duration of his apprenticeship having been fixed. The master shall teach him at his own house and feed him. He must not employ him in work of a different description, and should treat him like a son. If one forsakes a master, who instructs him properly, he may be compelled by forcible means to remain (at the master's house) and he deserves corporal punishment and confinement. Though his course of instruction be completed, an apprentice must continue to reside at the house of his master till the fixed period has expired. The profit of whatever work he may be doing there belongs to his master. When he has learnt the art of his craft within the (stipulated) period, the apprentice shall circumambulate him and return home after taking leave of him. If, however, a salary be fixed befitting his skill, the pupil should accept it and should not go to stay (i. e., accept appointment) in the house of another (craftsman).”

The above rules bring out several important and interesting features. In the first place, there was the system of indenture under

which the apprentice and the master were bound to each other for a fixed period stated in the deed. As Viramitrodaya points out, the teacher must make an agreement in this form: 'Let this apprentice stay with me so and so long.' In the second place, the indenture emphasises equally and fairly the obligation of both the master and the apprentices. As regards the obligations of the master, he had to adopt the apprentice as his own son and treat and feed him as such. He should teach him honestly; the master was competent to make him do the work strictly related to the craft he was learning but was not competent to exploit his labour or skill by employing it for purposes unconnected with it. Kātyāyana fixed a penalty upon the master for employing the apprentice in other work. "He who does not instruct the apprentice in the art and causes him to perform other work shall incur the first amercement; and the pupil may forsake him and go to another teacher, released from the indenture."¹²⁸² The master further, should not treat the apprentice like a hired labourer but like a son, with due tenderness and affection. Equally strict were the obligations under which the apprentice was bound to his master. He was to stay at his master's house and do work pertaining to the craft of his choice. Bṛhaspati¹²⁸³ says: "Arts (consisting of) work in gold, base metals and the like and the art of dancing and the rest, are termed human knowledge and he who studies them should do work at his teacher's house." If through the master's efficient training he attains proficiency in the craft before the expiry of the period stipulated for in the indenture, he was not competent to leave the master but had to serve out his full term, cheerfully yielding to him the fruits of his labour as the reward or compensation for the saving of time effected by the superior skill of the master in teaching. Yājñabalkya¹²⁸⁴ says: "Even if one has learnt the art (within the prescribed time), he must live in the house of one's teacher for the full period of contract. The student desirous of learning an art, who has received his board from the teacher, must make over to the latter the fruits of his labour (during the period of

¹²⁸² Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law,
Vol. II., p. 7.

¹²⁸³ XVI. 6.
¹²⁸⁴ II. 187.

his pupilage)." The master was also empowered to compel the return of a runaway apprentice, whom he could flog or confine for his disobedience. Gautama¹²⁸⁵ says: "The apprentice may forsake his master either of his own motion (in which case he is liable to correction) or under instructions from his kinsmen who consented to his pupilage. In the latter case, the deserted master can sue the pupil's guardians for a breach of contract." According to Nārada¹²⁸⁶ he who deserted a teacher who had duly discharged his duty and was in no way culpable, was to be compelled to reside with him and was liable to stripes and confinement.¹²⁸⁷ But it was lawful for the apprentice to disobey and even desert his master by way of protest against any mortal sin or other heavy crime committed by the latter. This is a characteristically Hindu provision securing the moral purity of craftsmen to which modern industrial legislation is hardly sufficiently attentive. There is again another provision for the payment of a salary to the pupil adequate to his proficiency if it was desired by the master to retain his services, in which case the first claim upon his services belongs to his master.

Lastly, the pupil is recommended to be always humble before his master in the following quaint exhortation: "For science is like a river, ever advancing to a humbler level, therefore as one's knowledge grows broader and deeper one should become ever more humble towards the source of one's knowledge."¹²⁸⁸

This exhortation is indeed symbolical and characteristic of the sacred and spiritual relations that normally obtained between the master craftsman and his apprentices—relations which were the direct outcome of the peculiar educational system and environment under which they worked. To these wholesome relations and specially to the superior educational efficacy of the system which produced them, is to be traced the signal success which is admitted on all hands to have

¹²⁸⁵ II. 43-44.

¹²⁸⁶ V. 19.

¹²⁸⁷ Compare—"Atitya baṇḍhūn avalanghya mitrāṇi āchāryam āgachchati śiṣyadoṣāḥ" in Bhāṣa; Pāṇcharātra I. 18 (Droṇabākya).

¹²⁸⁸ Nārada V. 12.

been achieved by the handicraftsmen of ancient and Mediæval India and which so largely enabled her to command for much more than a thousand years (from Pliny to Tavernier) the markets of the East as well as the West and obtained for her an easy and universally recognised pre-eminence among the nations of the world in exports and manufacturers. We are, however, more concerned with the system than its success, with the method of training than their results, the character of the educational machinery and organisation than the record of its magnificent outputs. 'The essence of the whole system is that the young craftsman is brought up and educated in the actual workshop of his master whose disciple he is. This means that the pupil stands in a peculiar relation to his master, a sacred relation of devoted personal service and attachment in which alone can the learner best imbibe and most naturally and spontaneously assimilate the special excellences of his teacher, his true inward method, even his trade secrets which can no longer be hidden from one whom he has adopted as his son. The very intimacy and depth of the personal relationship between the teacher and the taught solves substantially the difficulties of the educative process, which is impossible in the case of the busy professor at a modern technical school where he is concerned with his students for a few hours in the week and had no opportunity of associating them with his main business in which he is called upon to show his real worth and exercise his best talent. And this brings us to the other aspect of our indigenous organisation, viz., training in the actual workshop where the teaching is learnt from the very beginning in relation to real things, difficulties and problems and primarily by service, by personal attendance on the master. And it is not only technique that is learnt but something more valuable: in the workshop there is life itself, besides mere plants and tools, for, the workshop is part of a home which relieves its mechanical monotony and places the pupil in touch with life and its difficulties, human relationships, culture, and religion, whereby his heart is trained as much as his hand—a thing which is as necessary to art as mere technique.'

There is one other noticeable feature in connection with the rules of apprenticeship as explained by Nārada. It is that considerations

of caste did not affect the admission of apprentices into a craft. The only consideration that mattered was the consent of the apprentice's guardian and relations. This shows that the barriers between occupations were not so fixed and rigid as those between castes. This is proved not only by the aforesaid solitary rule stated by Nārada but by the universal permissive regulation contained in all the important law-books, authorising the twice-born classes to take to an occupation of an inferior caste, in times of distress or failure to obtain a living through lawful labour.¹²⁸⁹ The Pali literature, moreover, is full of much interesting evidence on this point. The evidence would show that though normally the trades and crafts were organised on a hereditary basis and technical talent descended from father to son, the way was quite open to exceptions to that rule. Thus in Vinaya¹²⁹⁰ we find parents discussing the best profession which their son might take such as lekḥā, gaṇanā and rūpa, without a reference being made to the father's trade. In the Chullavagga¹²⁹¹ the viṣṇus are allowed "the use of a loom and of shuttles, strings, tickets and all the apparatus belonging to a loom." We also read of brāhmaṇas as physicians,¹²⁹² goat-herds,¹²⁹³ merchants, hunters and snake-charmers,¹²⁹⁴ archers and the servant of an archer who was formerly a weaver,¹²⁹⁵ low-caste trappers (nesādā),¹²⁹⁶ even cart-wrights.¹²⁹⁷ Jātaka No. 495 gives a long list of the various occupations followed by Brahmins. In Jātaka V. 290-93, a kṣatriya, a king's son named Kuśa in his infatuation for Pabhāvati, apprentices himself *incognito* in succession to the court-potter, basket-maker, florist and cook to his father-in-law without a word being said as to his loss of caste when these vagaries became known. In Jātaka IV. 84 a prince takes to trade while in IV. 169 another resigning his kingdom goes to the frontier where he dwells "with a rich merchant's family working with his own hands." Jātaka

¹²⁸⁹ Gautama VII. 6; Vasiṣṭha II. 22; Baudhāyana II. 4. 16; Viṣṇu II. 15; Manu X. 81.

¹²⁹⁰ I. 77; IV. 128.

¹²⁹¹ V. 28.

¹²⁹² Jātaka IV. 361.

¹²⁹³ Jātaka III. 401.

¹²⁹⁴ Jātaka IV. 457.

¹²⁹⁵ Jātaka III. 219; V. 127, 128; I. 356, 357.

¹²⁹⁶ Jātaka II. 200; VI. 170.

¹²⁹⁷ Jātaka IV. 207, 208.

IV. 156 speaks of a Brahmin who takes to trade to be better able to afford charitable gifts. Brahmins engaged personally in trading without such pretext are also mentioned.¹²⁹⁸ Again, we hear of a weaver looking on his handicraft as a mere make-shift and changing it off hand for that of an archer;¹²⁹⁹ a pious farmer and his son with equally little ado turning to the low trade of rush-weaving.¹³⁰⁰ 'Stories all of these, not history; nevertheless, they serve to show that social divisions and economic occupations were far from coinciding.'

Some of the Jātaka stories throw interesting sidelight on the organisation of these guilds. Though the conditions of pupilage (as given by Nārada) are not given, the apprentice in the industrial sense frequently appears in the Jātakas. Thus in Jātaka No. 97 we have a publican and his apprentice while in Kuśa Jātaka¹³⁰¹ a prince apprentices himself to a potter, basket-maker, florist etc. In Jātaka III. 475 we read: "Once upon a time, when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares his son young Brahmadata and young Mahādhana, son of a rich merchant of Benares were comrades and play-fellows and were educated in the same teacher's house. In Jātaka IV. 38 we find that the son of a poor woman of a caravan, a merchant's son and the son of a tailor in the employ of a merchant, "all grew up together and by and by went to Taxila to complete their education." In Jātaka V. 457-9 two princes received instruction in arts at the hands of the same teacher who had besides 101 pupils. Kautilya in his Arthaśāstra¹³⁰² also refers to apprentices. The senior pupil also acts as Assistant Master (piṭṭiāchāriya). The position of a senior pupil to a Mahā-Vaḍḍhaki is indicated by Buddhaghosa.¹³⁰³ The relative position of a pupil to a master wood-wright is also indicated.¹³⁰⁴ We have also instances of fees being paid by apprentices to teachers in the Jātakas¹³⁰⁵ where two merchant-sons paid 2000 pieces each.

In course of time it became normal for the craftsmen of a particular trade to belong to one caste, so that the bonds which united them

¹²⁹⁸ Jātaka V. 22, 471.

¹²⁹⁹ Jātaka IV. 318.

¹³⁰⁰ R. Śyāmaśāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 166.

¹³⁰¹ Jātaka I. 251; V. 290f.; Atthaśālinī, p. 111.

¹³⁰² Jātaka II. 87.

¹³⁰³ Jātaka No. 531.

¹³⁰⁴ Aśl., 111 112.

¹³⁰⁵ Jātaka IV. 224, 225; 38, 39.

became stronger and no outsider would be admitted. There were no indentures of apprenticeship and a boy would be learning the particular craft from his father and would eventually take the place of his father as a member of the guild. The system of education was thus a domestic one. The boys had practically no choice of profession and were brought up to the same trade as their father. Where the father was living and in good health he would usually train up his son and the young craftsman was, from the very beginning, trained up in the actual workshop. Moreover, fair and proper training of apprentices was assured as the father imparts industrial skill and trade-secrets to a son more willingly than any other teacher. Moreover, this system of technical education is very cheap and the lad inherits a certain amount of skill from his father and unconsciously imbibes much of the technical knowledge from the atmosphere of the particular profession in which he is brought up. Thus the training was free from the artificiality of the school-room. In the collection of jade at the Indian museum there is a large engraved bowl on which a family in the employ of the emperors of Delhi was engraved for three generations.¹³⁰⁶

But when birth came to determine the whole course of a man's occupation in life, there is little chance of his capacities being always put to the best use and each profession may have to tolerate many persons who are incompetent or useless in that particular profession but who may perhaps do better in some other. Similarly, however worthy or desirable an acquisition a man may be, he cannot enter a craft-guild unless he was born to it. "A craft-guild of Medieval Europe may expand and develop; it gives free play to artistic endeavour. But the later craft-guilds of India based on birth is an organisation of a lower type; it grows by fission." In such a craft-guild based on birth invention or originality is checked because every craftsman's social prospects are limited to the customary position of his caste. The master craftsman's teaching merely reproduces his old fashioned knowledge and does not tend to progress; he looks askance at new knowledge and new tools and refuses to be wiser than his ancestors. In the sculptures of our old caves and temples and in our woodcarving

¹³⁰⁶ Birdwood—The Industrial Arts of India, p. 142.

and metal decorations we see the same figure or design repeated *ad nauseam*. As for the training of apprentices, though father is the most willing teacher he is not always the best of tutors nor is the son always the aptest of pupils. Education does not produce best results when both teachers and pupils are chosen by accidents of birth. Denying as this system does, equal opportunities to all, it often becomes the source of grave injustice to large classes of the community.

The question now presents itself how far this system of technical education discouraged the spread of liberal education among the craftsmen. As for the religious side of their education we can pretty definitely say that it was not neglected for, though persons other than the twice-born castes were in course of time excluded from the study of the Vedas they were not shut out from participation in all religious rites. To the idealistic mind of the Hindus, art and industry are the representation of one aspect of the Divinity which pervades every department of life. They therefore transcend the limitation of beauty and form in nature and attempt to represent the ideal as the only true beauty. Beauty has an absolute existence in the ideal plane and is revealed in the mind of the Hindu artist by God. The Hindu artist thus relies more upon the inward inspiration than upon any discipline in reproducing the external form. The God who is the source of all beauty, rhythm, proportion and idea is Viśwakarman. We do not mean to say that these deep thoughts were realised and consciously expressed by every craftsman; certainly not when tradition had become a mere habit. But to adopt slightly the words of Nietzsche, those who first uttered these thoughts in stone or metal and some of those who came after them, knew as well as the wisest ones about the secret of life.

In the Mahābhārata Viśwakarman is described as Lord of the arts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, who made the celestial chariots of the deities, on whose craft men subsist and whom a great and immortal god, they actually worship. Viśwakarmā is not only worshipped by craftsmen with offerings and ritual at the beginning of their work but there are also numerous charms and songs with which he is invoked to ward off disasters and assist them in their work. The

tools and implements are also worshipped as they are considered to be gifts of Viśwakarmā whom they are meant to interpret. The artisan's work is also sacred. As it is said in Manu: "The hand of the artisan is always pure." In Eastern Bengal the women of the middle class who work at the charkā worship Viśwakarmā on the first day of the Bengali year by decorating the charkā with flowers and with their own hand-drawing and giving offerings of milk, curds and cheera.¹³⁰⁷ The weavers particularly do not work in Vijayā Daśamī, on Ekādaśī and Dvādaśī days and worship the loom, the shuttle, and the weights and measures. On the Trayodaśī day they begin work anew. The tilis, the tāmlis and gandha-bāñiyās who deal in spices worship Gandheśwari on the Baisākhi Pūrṇimā day with the prayer "bāñijya br̥ddhipurbaka śrīdurgāpṛtibāmo śrīdurgāpūjāmaham kariṣye."

Coming to the literary side of the craftsman's education we find that in many arts and crafts certain sanskrit works had to be learnt by heart.¹³⁰⁸ These contained traditional rules relating to the particular craft, and would not only be learnt but also explained to the novice. Thus in South India there are vastuśāstris, who know by heart the traditional rules regulating the building of houses, who must be consulted by those who wish to erect new houses as to all the necessary details prescribed by the ancient books.¹³⁰⁹ From an extract from a Śilpaśāstra quoted by Dr. Coomāraswāmi in his Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon¹³¹⁰ we learn that "the śilpi should understand the Atharvaveda the thirty-two śilpaśāstras and the Vedic mantras by which the deities are invoked."

Besides this kind of literary education the Indian craftsman also came to know something of the doctrines of Hindu religion, folklore, mythology, epic and other stories that might be handed down in the family or related as the villagers gathered for gossip and discussion in the evenings or taught by some wandering mendicant, wandering scholar or temple priest.

¹³⁰⁷ Guruvandhu Bhattācārya's article on "Viśwakarmā vrata" in Prativā, 1320 B. S.

¹³⁰⁸ Coomāraswāmi—Medieval Sinhalese Art, Ch. VI.

¹³⁰⁹ Padfield—Hindu At Home, p. 3.

¹³¹⁰ Page 33.

In this connection we may well refer to the Mandasore Stone Inscription¹³¹¹ of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman which relates how a guild of silk-weavers, originally settled at Lāta, immigrated into the city of Daśapura attracted by the virtue of the king of that place. Here some of them learnt archery, some adopted the religious life, some learnt astrology and astronomy, some poetry, some became ascetics while others adhered to their hereditary profession of silkweaving. This inscription invalidates the notion, too generally entertained that the guilds were stereotyped close corporations of crafts busy only with their own profession and shows that "through the autonomy and freedom accorded to them by the law of the land they became a centre of strength and an abode of liberal culture and progress which made them a power and ornament of the society."¹³¹²

§ 5. MEDICAL EDUCATION.

In the literature of the Hindus there is a system of medicine which is certainly of great antiquity. One of the fourteen ratnas or precious gems which the gods are believed to have produced by churning the ocean was a learned physician. In the Charaka Saṃhitā¹³¹³ we find that Brahmā taught Dakṣa the science of medicine; Dakṣa became the preceptor of the Aśvin twins; they in their turn became the teachers of Indra and Indra imparted this knowledge to Bharadvāja who was sent by a conclave of sages to learn the art for the welfare of the human race. Bharadvāja had Punarvasu, Ātreya and others as disciples. Ātreya's students were Agniveśa, Bhela, Jatukarṇa, Pāraśara, Hārta and Kṣārapaṇi. Ātreya seems to have taught through the traditional method of questions and answers; for each chapter of Hārta Saṃhitā, written by his pupil Hārta ends with the words "Said by Ātreya in answer to Hārta". Śuśrūta¹³¹⁴ learned the science of medicine from Divodāsa, surnamed Dhanvantari, King of Benares at his Himalayan retreat. According to Śuśrūta,¹³¹⁵ Divodāsa was the incarnation of Dhanvantari, the celebrated physician of the gods in heaven and he was the first to propound the art of healing in this world.

¹³¹¹ Fleet—Gupta Inscriptions, No. 18.

¹³¹² I. 1.

¹³¹⁴ Ibid.

¹³¹³ R. C. Mazumdar—Corporate Life in Ancient India, second edition, p. 68.

¹³¹⁵ Ibid.

Arrian¹³¹⁶ informs us in his *Indica* that the study of medicine among the Brahmīns was in great favour. Strabo says: "The Indians do not pursue accurate knowledge in any line, except medicine".¹³¹⁷ Indeed India attracted even foreign scholars in historic times who came to study medicine under Indian teachers. Thus the ministerial family of Barmak under Harun (786-808 A. D.) sent scholars to India to study medicine and pharmacology. Even in later centuries, Moslem scholars sometimes travelled for the same purposes as the emissary of the Barmak, e. g., Almuwaffak, not long before Ālberūnī's time.¹³¹⁸

That there was a proper provision for the training of a physician will be evident from the following description of a doctor who is thought fit for service in a hospital, preserved in the Nandī Purāṇa: "The doctor should be well-versed in the religious treatises, experienced, familiar with the actions of medicines, a discriminator of the colour of the roots of the herbals and well-acquainted with the proper season of raising them from the ground, *well-trained* with the qualities of the juices, (their strength and actions), śālī rice, meat and medicaments, *trained* in compounding medicines, one who knows well of the physique of men by intelligence, one who knows the temperament and the qualities of the diet, a pathologist who is not idle, well-acquainted with the remedial agents for the premonitory signs and sequelæ of disease, proficient in the requirements of time and place, well-read in the medical text-books—the Āyurveda with its eight divisions and an expert in curing diseases by domestic remedies (prepared from handful of common ingredients)".

(Such medical education was imparted to students in important centres of learning like Taxila and Nālandā even in historic times.) Jivaka, surnamed Komarabhachcha, who was famous for his special proficiency in the treatment of children's diseases was brought up by Prince Abhaya, son of King Bimbisāra and sent by him to Taxila for medical studies.

¹³¹⁶ *Indica*, C. 27.

¹³¹⁸ Ālberūnī—An Enquiry into India
(Sachau's Eng. Trans.), pp. XXXI-
XXXII.

¹³¹⁷ McCrindle: *Megasthenes and Arrian*,
Frag. 25.

He studied medicine there under the great ṛṣi professor Ātreya. In the Mahāvagga¹³¹⁹ we are told that after seven years' study he had to undergo an examination in which he was asked to describe the medicinal use of all the vegetables, plants, creepers, grass, roots etc., that could be found within a radius of fifteen miles round the city of Taxila. Jivaka examined them for four days and then "submitted the results informing his professor that there was hardly a single plant which did not possess some medicinal property."¹³²⁰

(Thus the study of Medicine at Taxila seems to have had both a theoretical and a practical course.) The practical course included a first hand study of plants to find out their medicinal values as shown in the above account of Jivaka's education. We may also refer in this connection to the successful surgical operations executed by Jivaka as soon as he left Taxila on finishing his education, for, they show that he must have had a previous practical training in such difficult operations. According to Hiuen Tsang¹³²¹ the famous monastic university of Nālandā also made provision for the teaching of medicine.¹

In the Mahāvagga (VIII. 26, 6 and 8) we find the *qualities of a good nurse* thus described: "There are five qualities, O bhikṣus which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is competent to the task—when he is capable of prescribing medicines; when he does know what (diet) is good and what is not good for the patient, serving what is good and not serving what is not good for him: when he does wait upon the sick out of love, and not out of greed; when he does not revolt from removing evacuation, saliva or vomit; when he is capable of teaching, inciting, arousing and gladdening the patient with religious discourses. These are the five qualities, O bhikṣus, which, when one who waits upon the sick has, he is competent to the task." That provision was made for the training of such nurses will be evident from the following description of the staff of a hospital, found in Charaka Saṃhitā (I. XV):—"The staff should consist of servants and companions. The servants should be good, virtuous, pure, fond, clever, generous, *well-trained in*

¹³¹⁹ VIII. 3.

¹³²¹ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 112.

¹³²⁰ Universities in Ancient India—S. C. Das
in the Hindusthan Review, March, 1906.

nursing, skilful in works, able to cook rice and curries well, competent to administer a bath, expert masseur, *trained* in raising and removing a patient, dexterous in making or cleaning beds, practised in the art of compounding medicines, and willing workers not likely to show displeasure to any order."

(A word with regard to the Veterinary science. We have a book on Hasti-Āyurveda, dealing with the treatment of elephants written by Pālākāpya who was a veterinary surgeon in the court of Romapāda, King of Anga. In the Mahābhārata we find references to Gajasūtra, Aśwasūtra, works on elephants and horses. In the Mahābhārata¹³²² Sahadeva is described to have stayed with King Virāta as a cowherd and he is made to speak of his scientific knowledge of all cattle and of the cure of their diseases.) Nakula became the manager of the horses at the same court and was an expert in the Veterinary science¹³²³ on which he has written several works, his "Aśwa-chikitsā" being still extant.¹³²⁴ Kautilya also refers to elephant-doctors¹³²⁵ and says: "Elephant-doctors shall apply necessary medicines to elephants which, while making a journey happen to suffer from disease, over-work, rut or old age."¹³²⁶ He also refers to Veterinary surgeons¹³²⁷ and says: "Veterinary surgeons shall apply requisite remedies against undue growth or diminution in the body of horses and also change the diet of horses according to changes in the seasons."¹³²⁸ We learn from Edict No. II of Aśoka that he established throughout his own Empire and the frontier kingdoms hospitals for the treatment of men and beasts alike. (On the Veterinary science there are the works of Yogamañjari of Vardhamāna, Aśwavaidyaka of Dipāṅkara and Aśwāyurveda of Gana. A Brahmin Salotor by name wrote a book on the Veterinary art in Sanskrit which was translated into Persian under the title of "Kurrat-ul-mulk" by order of Ghays-ud-din Muhammad

¹³²² Birātaparva, 3rd adhyāya.

¹³²⁴ Thakore Sahab of Gondal—The History of Aryan Medical Science, p. 188.

¹³²⁷ Ibid., pp. 52, 166.

¹³²³ Ibid., 3rd and 12th adhyāya.

¹³²⁵ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 56, 169, 173.

¹³²⁶ Ibid., p. 174.

¹³²⁸ Ibid., p. 168.

Shah Khilji in 783 A. H. (i.e., 1381 A. D.).¹³³⁰ The book is divided into eleven chapters and thirty sections. It is curious that without any allusion to this work, another work on the Veterinary art styled *Salotari* and said to comprise in the sanskrit original 16,000 ślokaś, was translated in the reign of Shahjahan by Sayyid Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Zung who found it among some other sanskrit books which during his expedition against Mewar, in the reign of Jahangir, had been plundered from Amar Sing, Rāṇā of Chitor. It is divided into twelve chapters and is more than double the size of the other.)

Kautilya¹³³⁰ refers to men "possessed of the knowledge of the medical treatment of trees and plants" (*kṛṣitantra-gulmavṛkṣāyurvedjñāh*). He even refers to men "*trained* in such sciences."¹³³¹ There is a chapter on *Vṛkṣāyurveda* in the *Agni Purāṇa*.¹³³² Kāmandaka in his *Nitisāra*¹³³³ also refers to *Vṛkṣāyurveda*. There is also one chapter on *Vṛkṣāyurveda* in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.¹³³⁴ Bhattapāla in his commentary on this chapter refers to three other authorities on *Vṛkṣāyurveda*—Kāśyapa, Parāśara and Sāraswata. Professor Winternitz¹³³⁵ contends that these references indicate the existence of a rich literature on the subject, proving thereby the later origin of the *Arthaśāstra*. The conclusion may be tempting but the evidences before us do not enable us to speak with certainty whether treatises actually existed, because a great part of the technical knowledge might have been in a floating state simply handed down from the experts to their pupils.

There are passages in *Charaka* and *Śuśrūta Saṃhitās* and in *Bhābaparakāśa* which prove the importance of the study of plants in all their aspects to the would-be physician. Hence the student of medicine

¹³³⁰ *Arthaśāstra* (R. Śyāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans), p. 142.

¹³³¹ *Ibid*.

¹³³² Ch. 283.

¹³³³ 12th sarga, śl., 17.

¹³³⁴ Ch. 54.

¹³³⁵ "Kautilya *Arthaśāstra*"—Prof.

Winternitz in the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1924.

¹³³⁵ The translator makes no mention in it of the work on the same subject, which had been previously translated from the Sanskrit into Arabic at Bagdad under the name of *Kitāb-ul-Baitarat* (Elliot's *Historians of India*, Part I., pp. 263, 264.

was enjoined to learn of the plants from those who were likely to know them—those who lived in the forests or were in some way concerned with them. Thus we are told :

“ Ousadhīrnāmarupāvyam jñantehyajapā bane
Abipāśchaba gopāścha ye chānye banabāsinah—Charaka.

“ Gopālāstāpasābyādhā ye chānye banachārīṇah
Mūlahāraścha ye tevyo veśajabyektiriṣyati—Śuśrūta.

“ Āvīra gopāla pulindatāpasāh
Pānthastathānyepi cha banyapāragāh
Parīkṣya tevyo bibidhausdhāvidhā
Rasādi lakṣyāṇi tatah prayojayet—Bhāvaprakāśa.

The seeker after knowledge is to learn from the shepherd, cowherd, goat-herd, fowler, the devotee and hermit in the forest, those living in or having any connection with jungles. He should learn of the plant from them, examine it and after due enquiry accept the identification (of the plant) as valid. The fact that these men were likely to talk in Prākṛt or in different dialects need not frighten him: that would not deter him in his progress; as we find—

“ Prāyo janāh santi banecharāste
Gopādayah prākṛtanāmaḥ saṃgūḥ
Prayogānarthā bachana prabṛittir
Yasmāt tatah prākṛitamityadoṣah ”
—Dhanwantari Nighaṇṭu.

Again—

“ Ekantu nāma prathitaṃ bahūnām
ekasya nāmāni tathā bahūni
Drabyasya jātyākṛtibarnabirya-
rasapravābādirgupairbhabanti
Bahūnyatah prākṛtasamskṛtāni
nāmāni bijñāya bahūṃścha pṛṣṭvā
Dṛṣṭvā cha saṃspṛśhya cha jātilinge
badyādviṣaga veśajamādareṇa.”
—Dhanwantari Nighaṇṭu.

These may excite laughter in modern people—considering that the knowledge one may expect to learn therefrom must be of a very crude nature indeed. But a little reflection would point otherwise. Dr. George Watt has remarked in his invaluable book "The Dictionary of the Economic products of India: "There are, for example, numerous forms of Dhaturā known to the native expert that would be utterly unrecognisable in the herbariums, like the form of Aconitum Napullas, some of these are poisonous and others comparatively innocuous. The shepherd will dig up and eat one form of Aconite but eschew another, recognising it as a violent poison. But to the Botanist they are undistinguishable. This same knowledge is prevalent regarding the form of Dhaturā. That we should longer remain entirely ignorant of these facts is doubly to be regretted since we are alike unable to check criminal abuse and to take full advantage of the meritorious forms." It is no wonder, therefore, to find that the student is enjoined to go to the Himalayas¹³³⁶ and the Vindhya in search of plants. Thus we read in Charaka and Sarangadhara :

"Oṣadhīnām parābhūmirhimabāna śailasattamaḥ"—Charaka.

"Āgnayā biṇḍhyaśailādyā raumyo Himagirirmataḥ
Atastadauṣadhānisyuraṇurupāni hetuviḥ"—Sarangadhara.

We have also—

"Jivakarsavakau jñeyau Himādriśikharodbhabau"
—Bhāvaprakāśa.

"Mahāmedāvidaḥ kāṇḍo morāṅgadau prajāyati"
—Bhāvaprakāśa.

"Amlabetaṣaḥ cbotdeśe prasiddhāḥ"—Rājanighaṇṭu.

Passages like these describe at once the place of the study of Botany in the scheme of Hindu medical education as well as indicate the vast laboratory of the Indian continent which the student had to use for observation, experiment and collection of specimen.

¹³³⁶ Compare: "He who thinks of the Himalayas though he should not see him, is greater than he who performs all worship in Kāśī"—Skandhapurāṇa.

CHAPTER IX.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Scholars hold widely divergent views about female education in Ancient India. In the R̥gveda¹³³⁷ Indra himself has said : "The mind of woman brooks no discipline, her intellect hath little weight. But there are passages in the Saṃhitā portion of the Vedas which refer to female education. Thus we read :

"Ādhenabo dhunayaṃtamiśīświḥ sabardudhāḥ śāsāyā apradugdhāḥ

Nabyā nabyā yubatayo bhabantirmmahaddebānāmsuratwamekam "¹³³⁸
"An unmarried young learned daughter should be married to a learned bridegroom. Never think of giving in marriage a daughter of very young age."

"Upāyāmgrhitosyādityevyastwā

Viṣṇuragāyaiṣate somastam rakṣyaswa mā twādavan. "¹³³⁹

"A young daughter who has observed brahmacharya (i. e., finished her studies) should be married to a bridegroom who like her is learned."

"Brahmacharyeṇa tapasā rājā rāstraṃ birakṣati

Āchārya brahmacharyeṇa brahmachāriṇ micchate

Brahmacharyeṇa kanyāyubānaṃ bindyate patim. "¹³⁴⁰

"A king by observing brahmacharya (the vow of study) can protect his kingdom easily. An āchārya can impart education to his students if he has himself observed his brahmacharya (vow of studies). A young daughter after the observance of brahmacharya (vow of studies) should be married to a young man".

We shall now adduce evidences which go to show that women in those early days enjoyed the right to utter the sacred mantras. Thus in the Aśwalāyana Śrautasūtra (I. 11) we are told :

"Imaṃ mantraṃ patni paṭhet Vedaṃ patnai pradāya bāchayet".

¹³³⁷ VIII. 34, 17.

¹³³⁸ R̥gveda III. 5. 55. 16.

¹³³⁹ Yajurveda VIII. 1.

¹³⁴⁰ Atharvaveda XII. 3. 17, 18.

"The wife (of the sacrificer) should recite in a sacrifice this mantra. Placing the Veda in the hand of the wife, have this mantra recited by her." Again—

"Patnyā api mantrapāṭhobhabatyebetyādi"

In Āśwalāyana we find—

"Agnaye swāheti sāyam juhuyāt

Suryāya swāheti prātastuṣṭim dwitiye ubhayatra".

Govila Gṛhyasūtra is quite explicit on the right of women to perform the Agnihotra with Vedic mantras :—

"Kāmam gṛhyegnanu patnijuhutāt prātarhomaṁ

Gṛhapatnigṛhya eṣagnirbhabatiti."¹³⁴¹

Again—

"Dhrubamasi dhrubāhaṁ patikule bhūyasamamuṣyāsābitipatināma
gṛhīyādātmanaścha"¹³⁴²

"The wife should utter the mantra 'Dhrubāha' and then pray to God for ability to live in her husband's house in safety and steadfastness and then utter her own name as well as that of her husband."

In Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra we are told :

"Striyopi mantreṇa tamāruhya"

"After reciting the mantra the wife should seat herself on the seat."

We are further told in the Sāmikhāyana Sūtra—

"Gṛtabantam kutāyinaṁ rāyaspoṇam sahasrīṇam

Vedo dadhātu bājinam, iti vedepatnīm bāchayati"

"The women-folk should mutter mantras beginning with Gṛtabantam etc."

Again—

“Patnī pannejanirgrāhāti pratyantiṣṭiyantibhasubhyo rudrevya āditevyā
iti.”¹³⁴³

“Facing the Western direction while standing with a potful of water in her hand for sacrificial purpose, the wife should utter the mantra “basuvyo rudrevya etc.”.

Again—

“Sāvitri prasūtā daibya āpa undantu tanuḥ dirghāyus twāyārbachas
iti.”¹³⁴⁴

“At the time of the boy's chūḍākarāṇa, the mother should utter the mantra mentioned above”.

Jaiminī in his Pūrva Mīmāṃsā¹³⁴⁵ says :

“Tasyā yābaduktamāśīrbrahmacharyamatulyatwāt.”

“Women like men can bless with Vedic mantras and observe brahmacharya (the vow of study).” In Lātyāyana Śrautasūtra¹³⁴⁶ we are told that even the maidservants should utter “idam madhu etc.”.

Again—

“Gṛhapaterdāsyonabānudaharaṇān pūrayitwā pradakṣiṇam mārjāliyaṃ
Pariśurhaimahā idam madhwidammadhwiti badantyaḥ pañchābarāddhyāḥ
pañchaśataṃ parārdhyāḥ pañchbimpśatiḥ sāmprataḥ”.

Now it may be argued that the utterance of the mantras need not necessarily mean the regular study of the sacred texts. But in the commentary on Govila Gṛhyasūtra I. 3. we are told—

“Pātnimadhyāpayet kasmāt patnījuhuyāditi bachanāt, nahi
khalwanadhītya śaknoti patnī hotumiti”.

“The female-folk should be taught, for without such studies they cannot perform Agnihotra”.

¹³⁴³ Āpastamba Śrautasūtra XII. 5. 12.

¹³⁴⁴ VI. 1. 24.

¹³⁴⁵ Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra IX. 2. 1.

¹³⁴⁶ XVIII. 4. 3.

Again in Govila Gr̥hyasūtra¹³⁴⁷ we find : "Yachchāmnāyo bidagdhyāt".
 "The woman should read me (Veda)".

In Lātyāyana sūtra¹³⁴⁸ we are told : "Patnī cha". "The wife also
 (should sing the Sāma Veda).

That women used to read Mimāṃsā philosophy and even to teach
 others is evident from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya where after the sūtra
 "Anupasarjanāt" we read—

"Kāśakṛtsnena proktā mīmāṃsākāśakṛtsnī.

Kāśakṛtsnīm mīmāṃsāmadhītesau Kāśakṛtsnā brāhmaṇī".

"The Brahmin female who had studied the mīmāṃsā-śāstra written
 by the sage Kāśakṛtsna is called Kāśakṛtsnā".

Again it is written in the Vārtika after Kṛdanta (iguścha)—

"Striyāmapādāna upasamkhyānam

Upetyādhiyatesyāh sā upādhyāyī".

"The woman going near whom one reads is called Upādhyāyī.

There were also women or girl-students, Kaṭhi and Bahvṛchi being
 known by the different śākhās.¹³⁴⁹

Moreover, the adhikaraṇas (aphorisms) of Jaimini in his Pūrva
 Mīmāṃsā¹³⁵⁰ which turns on the text "Darśapūrṇamāsyābhyām
 swargakāmo yajeta" when read in the light of the comments of Sabara
 Swāmī lead to the broad conclusion that in respect of rights to perform
 one of the Vedic commands, women are on a level with men. The way
 in which this commentary on the adhikaraṇa is described by Sabara
 Swāmī (in his Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā-darśan) and by Mādhabāchārya (in
 his Jaimini's Nyāya-mālā-vistāra) shows that the text of the Vedas
 "swargakāmo yajeta" is a typical command, so that all rights which

¹³⁴⁷ I. 6.

¹³⁴⁸ IV. 6.

¹³⁴⁹ Pāṇini IV. 1, 48, 63.

¹³⁵⁰ Ch. IV. Pada I, adhikaraṇa III.

men have under the Vedic law are in Jaimini's view equally shared by women. Sabara Swāmi in his commentary, has headed the third adhikaraṇa of Chapter I of Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā Darśan as "the adhikaraṇa that deals with the equal rights of men and women in the performance of sacrifices etc." The word 'etcetra' lends corroboration to the view that the right of men and women were equal in respect of all commands contained in the Vedas. Pārtha Sārathi Miśra in his Śāstradīpikā takes the same view. Mādhavāchārya in his Nyāya-mālā-vistāra¹³⁵¹ says :—"Asyaibādhikaraṇasyānusareṇa aṣṭabaṛṣam brāhmaṇa-mupani yata tamadhyāpayita ityachāpi striyāpyadhikārah." Thus according to Mādhavāchārya, a girl of the twice-born classes has as much right to be initiated at the age of eight years as boys of the same age and is entitled equally with them to study the Vedas.

The text of Yama quoted below shows that in very early times maidens used to tie the sacred cord (sign of initiation) to study the Vedas and to recite the Sāvitrī, the most sacred of prayers :

"Purākālpe kumārīṇā mouñjibandhanamiṣṭe

Adhyāpanam cha vedānām sāvitrī badanam tathā."¹³⁵²

There was a similar initiation for girls in the Vedic age. The reference to the sacred vesture or triple thread of Saraswati bears clear evidence to this effect. The girdle tied round the boys' waist at the initiation has its counterpart in the girdle tied round the wife's waist at sacrifices which represents her upanayanam according to the Brāhmaṇas.¹³⁵³ It may be noted in this connection that among the Parsis who are descended from the same Aryan stock as the Hindus the custom of tying thread both by men and women prevails.

Hārīt, one of the earliest of sages, describes that all the four stages of life including that of studentship were open to women and that both the sexes had a right to utter the mantras (Vedic texts).¹³⁵⁴

¹³⁵¹ Bombay edition, p. 333.

¹³⁵² Yama quoted by Parāśara Mādhavya.

¹³⁵³ Taitt. Brāh., III. 3, 2, 37.

¹³⁵⁴ "Dwibidhā stīyo brahmabādiṇyaḥ sadyobadhwaścha Tantra brahmabādinā-munayana mouñjibandhanam vedādhyayanam swagṛhe vikṣacharyā iti" Hārītāchānam.

Kātyāyana Saṃhitā¹³⁵⁵ says: "If it (the rite of serving the sacred Fire) cannot be performed by one, they (i. e., the wives) should, either according to seniority or ability, severally or jointly, perform the rite, according to their own light and *knowledge of the scriptures*." Dakṣa Saṃhitā¹³⁵⁶ says: "The household of men has the wife for its root, if she *follows the Vedas*."

In Hemādri we read—

"Kumārīm śikṣayet vidyām dharmanītan nibiśayet
Dwayoh kalyāṇadā proktā yā vidyāmadhigachhati
Tato barāya biduṣi kanyā deyaḥ maṇiṣivih
Eṣa sanātanaḥ panthā ṛṣivih parigiyate
Ajñatapatimariyyādāmjñatapatisebanām
Nodwāhayet pitā bālāmajñatadharmaśāsanām."

"The girl should be taught Vidyā and Dharmaniti. The girl who is endowed with learning brings good to the family of her father and of her husband. The parents should give a fit daughter in marriage to an educated bridegroom—this is the opinion of the sages. So long as the girl is ignorant of patimariyyādā, patāsebana and dharma-śāsaṇa, so long her father should not give her in marriage."

Again in the Mahānirvāṇatantra—

"Kanyāpyeba pālaniyā śikṣaniyātiyatnataḥ."

"The daughter also should be properly educated and taken care of."

As a matter of fact we find that some of the hymns of the R̥gveda were originally given through women; through their mouths the sacred mantras were spoken which in later times their daughters were not allowed to study or repeat. Viśwavārā, a lady of great learning, composed the ṛk in the 5th maṇḍala fourth aṣṭhaka 28th sūkta of the R̥gveda. Lopemudrā was the author of the ṛk in the first maṇḍala second aṣṭhaka fourth adhyāya one hundred and seventy-ninth sūkta of the R̥gveda. Apalā was the author of the ṛk in the eighth maṇḍala, sixth aṣṭhaka,

sixth adhyāya, ninety-first sūkta of the R̥gveda. Śāswatī was the author of the ṛk in the seventh maṇḍala, seventh adhyāya, twenty-fourth sūkta of the R̥gveda. Ghoṣā, Ātrieyī and Paulāmi were also authors of mantras and rose to the rank of ṛṣis. Godhā, Brajāyā, Juhu and Devaśunī also rose to the rank of ṛṣis.

Two very interesting incidents described in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad may be referred to in this connection. The great king Janaka of Videha once performed a sacrifice, at which the most learned Brahmins, including those from Kuru and Pāñchāla countries, were present. Janaka wished to know which of those brāhmaṇas was the best read. So he enclosed a thousand cows and ten pādas of gold were fastened to each pair of horns. And then Janaka spoke to the assembled brāhmaṇas: "Let the wisest among you drive away these cows." Yājñabalkya, the great philosopher, asked his pupil to drive them away. Then the other brāhmaṇas became very angry and one after another, they plied Yājñabalkya with questions. Yājñabalkya silenced them all. One of his interlocutors was the venerable lady Gārgī, the daughter of Vachakru. She stood up in the midst of the assembly and held a philosophic discussion with the great Yājñabalkya, till the latter remarked: "O Gārgī, do not ask too much, lest thy head should fall off. Thou askest too much about a deity about which we are not to ask too much." Gārgī stopped for the moment but some time after she rose again and began with the proud remark: "Venerable brāhmaṇas, now I shall ask two questions. If he will answer them, none of you, I think will then be able to defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman." The two questions were on Brahman, described as Limitless in Time and Space but in whom exist Time and Space. Yājñabalkya answered these questions.

The second incident is also connected with Yājñabalkya. "Maitreyī" said he, "verily I am going away from this my house into the forest. Let me make a settlement between thee and that Kātyāyanī, my other wife." Maitreyī said: "My lord, if this whole earth full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me should I be immortal by it." "No" replied Yājñabalkya. And Maitreyī said: "What should I do with that

by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth of immortality, tell that to me." Yājñabalkya replied: "Thou who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words. Come, sit down, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say." Then followed one of the most abstruse philosophical discussions about the Universal Self, and its relation to the Individual.¹³⁵⁷ These two incidents eloquently testify to the high position, learning and mental equipment of women in ancient India, to which it will be difficult to find a parallel in the history of the world.

From the Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa¹³⁵⁸ we learn that an Aryan female Pathyāvasti went to the north, studied there and obtained the title of vāk i. e., Sarasvatī.¹³⁵⁹ Two directions given in the Aitareya Upaniṣad¹³⁶⁰ imply that elderly married ladies were permitted to hear Vedāntic discourses. The Upaniṣads mention several other women as teachers but it is not clear whether they were married. In this connection we may note that women were taught some of the fine arts like dancing and singing which were regarded as accomplishments unfit for men.¹³⁶¹

Evidences of ladies taking part in advanced Vedic studies are found in stage directions in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka¹³⁶² and Aitareya Upaniṣad¹³⁶³ where ladies are directed to leave the hall of learning when some principles of gynecology came to be explained, which are indelicate for the female ear. The introduction of Umā in the Kenopaniṣad is illustrative of the great regard the poet and sage had for the educative power of woman, even as regards the highest metaphysical truths and their teaching. A kumārī Gandharvagr̥hītā is quoted as viśeṣāvijñā (of excellent intellect) in the Kauśītaki¹³⁶⁴ and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas (V. 29). Some of the women-saints are mentioned, e. g., Gārgī, Vāchaknavī, Vāḍavā, Pratidheyī, Sulavā and Maitreyī.¹³⁶⁵

¹³⁵⁷ S. B. E. Vol. XV., pp. 108f.

¹³⁵⁸ Muir—Original Sanskrit Texts, p. 388.

¹³⁵⁹ Taitt. Sam., V. 1. 6. 5; Maitrā. Sam., III. 7. 3; Śat. Brāh., III. 2. 4, 3-6.

¹³⁶⁰ I. 13.

¹³⁶¹ II. 9.

¹³⁶² VII. 6.

¹³⁶³ II. 1.

¹³⁶⁴ III.

¹³⁶⁵ Aśv. Gṛ. sūtra III. 4.

In the Rāmāyaṇa we are told that Kauśalyā at the proposal of the installation of Rāma as Yubarāja offered oblations to the Fire with mantras :—

“Sā kṣhaumabasanā dr̥ṣṭā nityaṃ brataparāyaṇā.

Agniṃ Yuhotisma tadā mantrabatkṛt mangalā.”¹³⁶⁶

Similarly when Bālī was going to fight with Sugriva the former's wife Tārā performed swastyayana with the muttering of mantras. Again we find Tārā, the widow of Bālī while asking Rāma who had killed her husband to kill her also address Rāma thus : “See, husband and wife are both not separate beings, this is proved by woman's right to sacrifice and the evidence of the Vedas.”¹³⁶⁷ Indeed that Śītā was well-versed in purāṇa and in dharmaṇīti is evident from her talk with Rāma when she is dissuading the latter from undertaking the task of ridding Daṇḍakāraṇya forest of the Rākṣasas.¹³⁶⁸

In the Mahābhārata¹³⁶⁹ we read of Śibā, a brāhmaṇa lady who was well-versed in the Vedas—

“Atra śarmā Śivā nāma brāhmaṇī Vedaparagā.”

In the Śāntiparva¹³⁷⁰, we are told that when on one occasion. King Janaka was intent on embracing sannyāsa, his wife dissuaded him from this resolve after proving to him the superiority of the gṛhasthya āśrama from the Vedas and the śāstras. In the Śāntiparva¹³⁷¹ we are also told of one princess sulavā by name, who asked by the king (Janaka) about her identity replied :

“Sāhaṃ tasmin kule jātā vartayarsati mādbiddhyo

Binitā mokṣadharmeṣu charāmyekāmunibratam.”

¹³⁶⁶ Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 20th adhyāya, śl. 55.

¹³⁶⁷ Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 24 sarga.

¹³⁶⁸ Āraṇyakāṇḍa, 9th sarga.

¹³⁶⁹ Bana-parva.

¹³⁷⁰ 18th adhyāya. In the Rgveda we have a housewife reminding her husband that the ancient sages did attend to the begetting of progeny and did not consider their spiritual progress hampered thereby. (Rgveda VIII. 31, 9; I. 179, 2; V. 61, 8; V. 78, 4; VII. 76, 3; Taitt. Brah., III. 3. 3,

¹³⁷¹ 321st adhyāya.

She then delivered to Janaka a learned discourse on Yoga, Samādhi and Mokṣa. In the Udyogaparba we are told that a woman Badulā by name taught Rajadharma to her son herself.

A brāhmaṇa lady Līlāvati was the author of the celebrated Algebra which found its way to Europe.

From the Lalita-vistāra we learn that even at the time of Buddha girls had a right to study the śāstras and were taught to read and write. Thus Gautama says: "I shall need the maiden who is accomplished in writing and in composing poetry, who is endowed with good qualities and well-versed in the rules of the śāstras."¹³⁷² Another passage may be cited from the same work to show that the education of girls of the highest class not only enabled them to discharge their domestic duties and to take interest in the concerns of life but also dowered them with an attitude of openness to the reception of new ideas. The wife of the Buddha was bold enough to put the question: "So long as my behaviour, my qualities, my prudence remain undisturbed, why need I a veil to cover my face with?"¹³⁷³ It must be concluded therefore that the girl of this period was no domestic drudge and had her individuality and free opinions within limits.

In course of time the right of initiation and the right to study the Vedas or sacred literature generally were denied to women. It is impossible to fix decidedly the time when such a retrograde movement commenced. But from the following aphorism of Jaimini it is apparent that a school had in Jaimini's time already sprung up, of which the sage Aitiśāyana was the exponent which maintained the view that women were not entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices:—

"Lingabīṣeṣanirdeśāt punyuktamaitiśāyanah"

"As the particular gender is specified it refers to males so says (the sage) Aitiśāyana." A study of Jaimini's aphorisms on the Vedic text 'swargakāmo yajeta', referred to above will not fail to impress even the superficial reader with the forcible and vigorous reasoning with which Jaimini refutes the arguments of the opposite school and claims

¹³⁷² Lalita-vistāra—R. L. Mitra, XII, pp. 199-200.

¹³⁷³ Ibid., p., 199.

for women equality with men in respect of personal and proprietary rights. It also appears from the following aphorism of Jaimini that the sage Bādarāyaṇa supports the view taken by Jaimini :—

“ Jātim tu bādarāyaṇobiśeṣāt tasmāt strayapi pratiyate jātyarthasyābiśiṣṭyatwāt.”

Bādarāyaṇa says that any one (whether man or woman) belonging to the three regenerate classes is entitled to perform sacrifices as there is no class distinction in the word (swargakāmo); therefore, woman also is included because the three regenerate classes consist of men and women alike.”

It may perhaps be objected that Jaimini was merely fighting for a theory and that when claiming for women equality with men in the performance of Vedic sacrifices and in the study of the Vedas, he was breaking away from the conventional feeling of his time. But the objection loses all force when we turn to the evidences, to which reference has already been made, of the right of women to Vedic study furnished by the Vedas and the Sūtras both of which preceded the Smṛtis in point of time.

When we come to the Smṛtis we find that the women were thought incompetent to perform sacrifices¹³⁷⁴ and to read the Vedas as they could not be initiated. Manu,¹³⁷⁵ for instance, says that initiation of women consisted in their marriage: “The nuptial ceremony is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women and to be equal to the initiation, serving the husband (equivalent to) residence in the house of the teacher and the household duties the same as the worship of the sacred fires.”

Medhātithi and Nārāyaṇa, two of the commentators of Manu, add the gloss that by Vedic sacrament is meant the sacrament having for its object the study of Vedic texts. Kulluka in his commentary hints that by prescribing marriage in the place of upanayana, it is implied that women must not be initiated. Viṣṇuśaṅkara in his comment on

¹³⁷⁴ Manu IV, 205, 206.

¹³⁷⁵ II. 67.

śloka 15 of Yājñabalkyaśmṛti] in the chapter on Āchāra says that initiation for women means marriage. If they could not be initiated, it follows that they could not study the Vedas. In another verse Manu makes the position clear. In Chapter IX. verse 18 the sage says : "For women no sacramental rite is performed with sacred texts; thus the law is settled; women who are destitute of strength and destitute of the knowledge of Vedic texts are impure as falsehood itself, that is a fixed rule." In Jagannātha's opinion, this text indicates the exclusion of women from the study of Vedic texts. There is also a text of Yama which ordains that women are forbiddin to utter Vedic mantras. In his comment on śloka 30, Ch. XIII of Nāradaśmṛti Asahaya remarks—

"Tathāhi śāstrādhyayanādhikāritwāt śāstramātropājivi dharmādharmajñānābhābāt swātantryā bartamānatwena puruṣapāratantryā bhābāt tenopadeśasamgachcha."¹³⁷⁶

"The reason for dependence is that women have no right to study the śāstras and consequently lack the knowledge to decide between right and wrong between Dharma and Adharma since such knowledge is dependent on the śāstras. We read in the Śrīmat Bhāgavad Purāṇa that women in common with the śūdras were declared incompetent to hear the Vedas. This retrograde spirit is also correctly indicated by Megasthenes who came to India in the 4th century B. C. He says : "The brāhmaṇas do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives." But he admits that some women did pursue philosophy.

It is probably the early foreign invasions of India that may account for this exclusion of women from Vedic studies. In almost every nation of the world in the primitive stages of its development, the early ideas about the inferiority of the female sex prevailed; woman was not regarded as a person, she was not recognised as a citizen. "In fact, she was not a unit but a zero in the sum of human civilisation"¹³⁷⁷ and it is very probable that the conquering mlechchas entertained these notions. When the people of Hindusthan who had already attained

¹³⁷⁶ Jolly—Institutes of Nārada.

¹³⁷⁷ Mr. Cady Stanton—History of Women Suffrage, Vol. III. p. 290.

to a high degree of civilisation came in contact with their first foreign rulers far less civilised than they, they might have adopted those rules concerning the position of women which belonged peculiarly to an imperfect civilisation.

From this time the education of girls came to be entirely domestic and vocational, in the sense that they were being prepared for that which was considered a woman's principal work—the duties of the household. Indeed as the men were devoted more and more exclusively to social duties, to learning or teaching or were plunged in the delights of a dreamland beyond the tomb or the cremation ghat, they had to be freed from worldly worries by their wives. Thus according to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹³⁷⁸ weaving is the function of women. Weaving is also a domestic occupation for women in the Jātakas.¹³⁷⁹ Among the qualities which, according to Anguttara Nikāya¹³⁸⁰ every woman should be endowed with, we find that she should be skilled in spinning and weaving, must be intelligent enough to do and manage household affairs and must preserve the earnings of her husband. The Dhammapada commentary¹³⁸¹ tells us that pounding rice and cooking are some of the duties of a household woman. Śukrāchārya¹³⁸² says: "The woman should be assistants in the functions of the males, viz., agriculture, shopkeeping etc. The woman should practise music, gentle manners etc., according as the husband is master of these and perform the winning arts etc., with regard to him". Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra¹³⁸³ enumerates among others the following duties of married wives:—

"She should arrange to plant in her garden rows of flower plants such as Kubjaka, Āmalaka, Mallikā, Jāti, Kurundaka, Nabamallikā, Tagara, Nandyvarta and other plants. There should also be rows of

¹³⁷⁸ Taṣṭā etat sṛṣṭiṃ karma yada ūrṇāsūtram—Śat. Br. XII. 7. 2. 11.

¹³⁷⁹ Jāt. VI. 26.

¹³⁸⁰ IV. pp. 268-69.

¹³⁸¹ III. p. 41.

¹³⁸² Śukranāṭisāra, Ch. IV. sec. VII.

¹³⁸³ Bk. IV. Ch. I.

lines 54-56.

trees such as Bālakośiraka, Pātāleka and others and the ground should be kept attractive in appearance. "¹³⁸⁴

"She should secure the seeds of various medicinal herbs and vegetables such as Mūlaka and sow them in time".¹³⁸⁵

"From the curds that remain after their daily consumption, she should extract its essence (butter) as also oil from oilseeds, sugar and jaggary from sugarcane, spinning of thread from out of cotton and weaving cloth with them, the securing of Sikya (a sling for placing vessels suspended from ceilings), of ropes (for drawing water) of strings (for tying cattle), of barks (for making cloth out of them), looking after pounding and grinding (of paddy, rice, etc.,) finding some use for āchama, muṇḍa (scum of boiled rice) tuṣa (husk or chaff of grain), kaṇa (broken rice), kuti (bran) and aṅgāra (charcoal), knowledge (remembering) of wages of servants and their disbursements, the care of cultivators and welfare of cattle, *knowledge of constructing conveyances*, looking after sheep, cocks, lavakas, parrots, cuckoos, peacocks, monkeys and deer, *the reckoning of daily income and expenditure and making up a total of them all*—all these are the duties of a wife".¹³⁸⁶

"Looking after purchases and sales and incomes and expenditures—these also should be carefully looked after".¹³⁸⁷

"She should consider the annual income and expenditure accordingly".¹³⁸⁸

"She should excel other women of her rank and birth in cleverness, in her *knowledge of arts* (sixty-four in number) appearance, *art of cooking.....*".¹³⁸⁹

Manu¹³⁹⁰ says: "They (women) should be employed in looking after the expenses of the household, in maintaining the cleanliness of their persons and of the house and in looking after the beddings, wearing apparel and household furniture". In another place Manu¹³⁹¹

¹³⁸⁴ Ibid., §1. 7.

¹³⁸⁵ Ibid., §1. 33.

¹³⁸⁶ Ibid., §1. 32.

¹³⁸⁹ X. 11.

¹³⁸⁸ Ibid., §1. 29.

¹³⁸⁷ Ibid., §1. 35.

¹³⁸⁹ Ibid., §1. 31.

¹³⁹¹ IX. 28.

refers to *nursing* as contingent on the wife of a man. Kautilya¹³⁹² also refers to the cutting of wool, fibre, cotton, panicle (*tulā*), hemp and flax and of spinning threads by women of all classes and castes.

The training for all this began in the girl's own home under the supervision of her mother and when she was married and went to live with her husband, it would be continued owing to the Indian custom of the non-separation of the family, by her mother-in-law. The injunction that she should be employed in the collection and expenditure of her husband's wealth would mean that she had some knowledge of accounts, however elementary it may be. But as there was no school for girls and no time was fixed for the commencement of their education (the right to initiation being prohibited now) it is likely that the intellectual side of female education received no special care and was left to circumstances that might be. But although shut out from the study of the Vedas and from performing a sacrifice, apart from her husband, the performance of certain religious duties was specially enjoined for her and in addition to receiving instructions in the rites and ceremonies in which she was expected to take part a woman would become acquainted with something of the vast heap of mythological stories and folk-lore which had been handed down and accumulated in India from ancient times. Indeed, literacy and education did not go hand in hand in the case of Hindu women. Many of them were perhaps illiterate but all were well-educated in spite of that. This was due, strange though it may seem to the Western mind, and it was accomplished on the strength of the religious ideal of life and by means of the home as the centre of all activity.

Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* has however preserved for us a liberal scheme of female education. He says :—

“ A woman should study *Kāmasūtra* before she attains her youth. A married woman should study it with the consent of her husband. The *āchāryas* are, however, of opinion that because a woman is not permitted to study *śāstras* according to the Hindu religious texts and

¹³⁹² *Arthashastra* (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), pp. 140-41.

also because she is not fit to receive this kind of learning, there is no need giving here the courses of training which a woman has to undergo."¹³⁹³

"But Vātsyāyana considers that women should be taught the principles of these śāstras and their practical application. As the teaching of these principles to women requires the study of these śāstras on the part of the teachers the laying down in the Kāmasūtra of the method of training the women, is not out of place. And thus the practical knowledge of Kāmasūtra gained by women is dependent on this śāstra though remotely."¹³⁹⁴

"Such a result is not confined to the Kāmasūtra only. The fact that a large majority of people secure a knowledge of the principles of various śāstras without themselves studying them, is observed in very many other instances. In all parts of the world there are only a few who have studied or are fit to study the śāstras. But the principles of them are intended for all people and understood by various means."¹³⁹⁵

"There are however, certain women such as courtesans, princesses and daughters of noblemen who have their intellect sharpened by *direct study* of the śāstras."¹³⁹⁶

"For these reasons a woman may learn śāstras as well as application of their principles or either of them from a person in whom she may have confidence."¹³⁹⁷

"A woman should learn in her girlhood, alone in private, sixty-four kinds of sexual knowledge which can be understood by practice only."¹³⁹⁸

"The teachers of girls are:—(1) a daughter of her nurse who has been brought up with her and had intercourse with man (2) a woman friend who speaks in a frank manner and has likewise had intercourse

¹³⁹³ Kāmasūtra, Bk. I. Ch. III. śls. 2-4.

¹³⁹⁵ Ibid., śl. 6.

¹³⁹⁷ Ibid., śl. 13.

¹³⁹⁴ Ibid., śl. 5.

¹³⁹⁶ Ibid., śl. 12.

¹³⁹⁸ Ibid., śl. 14.

with man (3) her mother's sister of her own age (4) an elderly woman servant who is trusted and is to the girl like her mother's sister (5) A nun that previously had sexual intercourse with man and (6) her own elder sister, because of the trust reposed in them by the girl."¹³⁹⁹

"The author enumerates hereunder the 64 kalās or arts.

1. Gītam—singing.
2. Vādyam—playing on musical instruments.
3. Nṛtyam—dancing.
4. Ālekhyam—painting.
5. Viśeṣakachhedyam—cutting of leaves etc., in the form of certain figures to serve as marks on the forehead.
6. Taṇḍula Kusumāvalivikāra—arrangement on coloured rice-grains and flowers of different colours, in various forms as an ornamental exhibit at the time of the worship (of a deity etc.).
7. Puspastaraṇam—covering the floor of a hall or room with flowers.
8. Daśana-vasanāṅgarāga—colouring the teeth, clothes and body.
9. Maṇibhumikākarma—in certain parts of the house studding the floor with precious stones etc.
10. Śayanarachanam—arrangement of bed according to the taste and condition of persons.
11. Uḍakavādyam—playing on water so as to produce a musical sound as if from a drum (jalataranga).
12. Uḍakaghāta—striking (at others) with handfuls of water or by squirting it through some instrument such as a syringe.

13. Chitrāścha yoga—various kinds of preparations by compounding drugs and other medicinal substances or spells against others (enemies chiefly) to disable or deform them.
14. Mālyagradhanavikalpa—stringing flowers into garlands for the purpose of wearing or worshiping (an image etc).
15. Śekharaṇṇīḍayoga—striking flowers in the form of śekhara or ṇṇīḍa (two kinds of head-ornaments).
16. Nepathyaproyaga—ways of dressing and decorating oneself with flowers or ornaments.
17. Karṇapatrabhanga—making some kinds of ear-ornaments out of ivory, conch, etc.
18. Gandhayukti—preparation of perfumatory articles.
19. Bhūṣaṇayojana—making of new ornaments or improving old ones with the insertion of precious stones etc., or the proper way of wearing ornaments.
20. Indrajālayoga—producing illusions by playing trickery.
21. Kanchumārścha yoga—some preparations out of drugs to increase virility and the strength of the body.
22. Hastalaghava—nimbleness of hand by which one is able to do things easily and quickly.
23. Vichitraśāka-yuṣha-bhakṣyakriyā—preparation of varieties of food, vegetables, soups and sweatmeats and other dishes.
24. Panakarasaragasavayojanani—preparation of different kinds of drinks including intoxicants.
25. Sūchivanakarmaṇi—needleworks of various kinds, sewing, etc.

26. Sūtrakṛdā—playing with strings of threads. Some tricks by which threads cut or burnt are made to appear as unbroken. Or this may be interpreted like this—some plays in which dolls are made to dance and play by means of threads attached to them from behind.
27. Viṇādamaṇṇika vādyāni—playing on Viṇā and Damaṇṇika (a kind of drum).
28. Prahelikā—proposing and solving of riddles.
29. Pratimala—amusing way of reciting ślokas (verses). One person recites a śloka, another person following with another śloka that begins with the last letter of the previous śloka. This is commonly known as “Antadi”—i. e., the end of the one (śloka) is the beginning of another śloka.
30. Durvachaka yogaḥ—participating in reciting ślokas (verses) difficult both in meaning and pronunciation (producing harsh sounds after a laborious pronunciation of words).
31. Pustakavachanam—reading in melodious tones standard works such as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.
32. Nātakākhyāyikā-darśanam—knowledge of dramas and stories.
33. Kābyasamasyāpūraṇam¹⁴⁰⁰—a quarter or part of a verse (śloka)—the last quarter generally—being given, to compose the other parts of the verse.
34. Pattikavetra vanavikalpa—making of different articles of furniture (cots, seats etc.,) from canes and reeds.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Rājatarāṅgī (IV. 46) refers to samasyā (Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I, p. 124.

35. Takṣakarmanī—cutting into required shapes, certain materials—wood, metal etc.; making from gold, steel, wood, silver or any other substance, unnatural forms of male organs for using them as substitutes in sexual intercourse (these are called Apadrabyās).
36. Takṣaṇam—carpentry.
37. Vastuvidyā—Engineering specially that part of the science which treats of the ways of constructing dwelling houses, the sites on which they are to be built, the materials to be used and such other matters as sanitation, connected with the subject.
38. Rupyaratnaparīkṣā—testing, valuing, etc., of precious stones.
39. Dhātuvāda—the combination, purification and precipitation of minerals; making valuable metals out of inferior kinds, as gold from iron.
40. Maṇirāgakarajñānam—knowledge of the process of dyeing crystals and precious stones and of the location and working of the mines.
41. Vṛkṣāyurveda—knowledge of medicines for plants.
42. Meṣa-kukkuta-lavaka-yuddhāni—training rams, cocks and lavakas (quails or some birds allied to them) to fight.
43. Śukasārikapralāpanam—teaching parrots to speak human languages and sending messages through them.
44. Utsadane, samvahane, keśamardanecha :kauśalam—dexterity in the process of removing dirt from the body, in massaging (rubbing the body) and dressing the hair.
45. Akṣaramuṣṭikakathanam—finding out some hidden meaning of some groups of letters ingeniously composed to mean various things, as in our "shorthand".

46. Mlechhitabikalpa—varieties of cypher-languages—some newly coined expressions unintelligible to all except the initiated.
47. Deśabhāṣāvijñānam—knowledge of the languages of different countries.
48. Nimittajñānam—knowledge of good and bad omens.
49. Puṣpaśakatika—making of carts, palanquins, horses, elephants etc., out of flowers.
50. Yantramatrika—construction of machines for locomotion, pumping water etc., and of guns and other weapons for war purposes.
51. Dhāraṇamatrika—science of memory—memory-training—, so that one is able to make such feats as Śatavadhāna (attending to 100 things at the same time and answering to several questions put by many persons simultaneously).
52. Sapatyam—a feat in which one person recites a known śloka (verse) and another who does not know the śloka before, has to repeat it along with the former.
53. Manasi—another feat in which one is to fill up with appropriate words or phrases, the blanks left in a verse or sentence.
54. Kāvya-kṛyā—composing poems.
55. Abhidhāna-koṣa-chhandobijñānam—knowledge of lexicons and metre.
56. Kriyākālpa—kāvya, alaṅkāra and poetry (Poetics and Rhetoric).
57. Chhalilākayoga—Some processes of deception or fun in which voice and person are disguised so as not to be recognised.

58. Vastragopanam—covering the private parts of the body with cloth; or wearing a long cloth in such a way that it may look fit or as if it were a short cloth or wearing a torn cloth in such a way that its damaged parts are not seen by others.
59. Dyutaviśeṣa—varieties of gambling.
60. Akarsa-kriḍā—a particular kind of gambling with dice.
61. Bālakriḍanakāni—plays for children with balls and dolls.
62. Vainayikanam vidyānam jñānam—knowledge of such arts and sciences by which good manners and obedience are learnt or knowledge of the sciences and arts which educate a person.
63. Vaijayikanam vidyānam jñānam—knowledge of such sciences as will bring victory over opponents.
64. Vyāyānikanam vidyānam jñānam—knowledge of such sciences as are connected with the physical exercise and the development of the body.

These are the sixty-four subordinate sciences that form part of the sexual science".¹⁴⁰¹

"A woman gifted with these arts will, by these means live even when her husband is on exile or when she is suffering from some great trouble or has become a widow, even if she is living in a foreign country".¹⁴⁰²

From the above it is evident that Vātsyāyana's scheme of female education was an ideal one including (1) literary accomplishments (kalās Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 45, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62), (2) knowledge of domestic arts (kalās Nos. 10, 25), (3) knowledge of

¹⁴⁰¹ Kāmasūtra, Bk. I. Ch. III. 41. 16.

¹⁴⁰² Ibid., 41. 23.

culinary arts (kalās Nos. 23, 24), (4) knowledge of arts relating to toilet, dress, comforts or luxuries (kalās Nos. 5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 44, 58), (5) knowledge of manual arts (kalās Nos. 7, 22, 36, 37), (6) knowledge of recreative arts (kalās Nos. 12, 20, 26, 28, 29, 30-33, 42, 43, 45, 49, 52, 53, 57, 59, 60, 61.), (7) knowledge of scientific arts (kalās Nos. 9, 13, 17, 21, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 50), (8) knowledge of music (kalās Nos. 1, 2, 11, 27), (9) knowledge of drama (kalā No. 32), (10) knowledge of etiquette (kalā No. 62), (11) knowledge of painting (kalā No. 4), and (12) physical exercise (kalās Nos. 3, 63, 64).

It is also evident from Bk. I. Ch. III. śloka 13 of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra quoted above that princesses and daughters of some noblemen received a special share of this education in the sixty-four kalās for they "have their intellect sharpened by a *direct study* of the śāstras." Vātsyāyana refers to another set of sixty-four arts taught by Pāñchāla which he has fully described in Bk. II. dealing with samprayogikam or sexual intercourse. Vātsyāyana says: "King's daughter or the daughter of a nobleman well-skilled in these arts will have her husband under her sway even when he has one-thousand wives in his harem."¹⁴⁰³

In the Jaina Kalpasūtra¹⁴⁰⁴ we find the Arhat Rṣabha saying that during his reign he taught among other subjects the sixty-four accomplishments of ladies (chatuṣṣaṣṭi-mahilāguṇe).

We have already seen that singing and dancing were regarded as particularly feminine accomplishments and are dubbed as "unmanly" in the later Vedic texts.¹⁴⁰⁵ In the Rāmāyaṇa¹⁴⁰⁶ we accordingly find that the hundred daughters of Rājaraṣi Kuśanāva, born of the womb of Ghṛtāchi were well-versed in dancing, singing and music. Hemā was also an expert in singing and dancing.¹⁴⁰⁷ The wives of Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā (Ceylon) were highly proficient in dancing and singing.¹⁴⁰⁸ To teach the girls the arts of dancing, singing, music as well as painting there were dancing halls as well as halls of music and painting. The Mahābhārata¹⁴⁰⁹ refers to a dancing hall

¹⁴⁰³ Ibid., 4l. 22.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Text, p. 74; S. B. E., Vol. XXII, p. 282.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Taitt. Saṃ., VI. 1, 6, 5. Compare Tasmāt gāyanśīyaḥ pṛyāḥ—Maitra. Saṃ., III. 7. 3.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Bālakāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Kiṣkīṇḍhyākāṇḍa, 51st sarga.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Sundarakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Virāṭaparva, 22nd adhyāya.

(*nṛtayaśālā*) constructed by king Virāta where his daughters were taught dancing in day time. Vātsyāyana¹⁴¹⁰ also refers to music halls. The *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹⁴¹¹ also refers to halls of music where *Mālavikā* was taught the arts of dancing, and acting by Gaṇadāsa. The *Priyadarsikā* and the *Ratnābali* also refer to *Chitraśālā* and *Gandharvaśālā*. Paes (1537 A. D.) gives a vivid description of the dancing hall of the king of Vijayanagara, where the ladies of his harem were taught dancing.¹⁴¹²

Indeed the princesses and daughters of noblemen on account of their ability to pay had in some cases a private tutor to coach them. Draupadi is described as lovely, learned and chaste¹⁴¹³ and her conversations with Yudhiṣṭhir, Kṛṣṇa and Satyabhāmā do credit to the best educated woman. She seems to have been a master in keeping accounts, for, she says to Satyabhāmā that she alone used to keep all the household accounts of King Yudhiṣṭhir.¹⁴¹⁴ She explicitly says that she has learnt *Bṛhaspati-nīti* from a Brahmin tutor, engaged by her royal father who taught this to her along with her brothers.¹⁴¹⁵ We are further told in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁴¹⁶ that Arjuna in the disguise of an eunuch was employed by king Virāta to teach dancing, singing and music to (his daughter) Uttarā, her maids of honour and maid-servants. Similarly *Mālavikā*¹⁴¹⁷ and *Rajyaśrī*,¹⁴¹⁸ sister of Harṣa had Gaṇadāsa and Divākaramitra respectively as their tutors.

If we may go by the indications afforded by Indian literature it seems that some girls specially of the ruling class were not behind their brothers in education. Indian literature does not contain a direct reference to unmarried girls being sent to school but there are many references to educated women. From the *Vimānavatthu*

¹⁴¹⁰ *Kāmasūtra*, Bk. VII. Ch. I. śl. 15.

¹⁴¹¹ M. R. Kale's Eng. Trans., p. 2.

¹⁴¹² Sewell—*A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 288-89.

¹⁴¹³ *Priyā cha darśanīyā cha paṇḍitā cha patibratā*.

¹⁴¹⁴ *Mahābhārata*, Banaparba, 231st adhyāya.

¹⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 32nd adhyāya

¹⁴¹⁶ *Virāṭaparba*, 11th adhyāya; also 2nd adhyāya.

¹⁴¹⁷ *Mālavikāgnimitra* (M. R. Kale's Eng. Trans.), pp. 2, 4, 5.

¹⁴¹⁸ *Harṣacharita*—Cowell and Thomas, p. 258.

commentary¹⁴¹⁹ we learn that Latā of Sāvatti was learned, wise and intelligent. Among the female authors quoted in Hāla's Anthology are Anulakṣmī, Mādhavi, Revā and Nāthā. That there was systematic education of girls at home is clear from the Kumārasambhava where Kālidāsa tells us that Umā acquired the Vidyās¹⁴²⁰ and from the Meghadūta, where the Yaśka's wife is able to compose songs with letters drawn from her husband's name.¹⁴²¹ In Kālidāsa's Avijñāna-Śakuntalam we find the heroine penning a love-letter on a lotus-leaf. Such letter-writing by females is also referred to in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra.¹⁴²² From Mālavikāgñimitra we learn that Gaṇadāsa taught dancing, acting and allied arts to Mālavikā. She learnt from Gaṇadāsa the dance called Chalita¹⁴²³ and the five-limb dance (or acting consisting of five parts).¹⁴²⁴ When Queen Dhārīnī enquired through a maid-servant of Mālavikā's progress, the tutor himself thus speaks of her aptitude: "Let the Queen be informed that Mālavikā is exceedingly clever and intelligent or in short, whatever movement expressive of sentiment is taught by me to her in the way of acting (or dramatic representation), the girl, as it were, teaches me the same in return, by her superior performance of it (i. e., by improving upon it)"¹⁴²⁵ The Mālavikāgñimitra also refers to "two girls skilled in arts" specially in music sent as a present from the Vidarbha country to Agnimitra.¹⁴²⁶ The Raghuvamśam refers to princess Indumatī as possessed of endless accomplishments¹⁴²⁷ who after her marriage was taught fine arts by her royal husband Aja.¹⁴²⁸ We are also told in Raghuvamśam that king Agnivarna imparted to the ladies of his harem the principles of the art of gesticulate dancing.¹⁴²⁹ Tradition tells us that Kālidāsa's wife was herself a great literary personality who had

¹⁴¹⁹ Page 131.

¹⁴²⁰ Prapadire prāktanajanmavidyāḥ.

¹⁴²¹ Madgotāṅkam virachitapadam geyamudgātukāmā.

¹⁴²² Bk. V. Ch. IV, śls. 51-52.

¹⁴²³ Mālavikāgñimitra (M. R. Kale's Eng. Trans.), p. 2.

¹⁴²⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴²⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁴²⁶ Ibid., pp. 55, 56.

¹⁴²⁷ Canto VI. 37.

¹⁴²⁸ Canto VIII. 67.

¹⁴²⁹ Canto XIX. 36.

vanquished many scholars in open debates. Tradition also tells us that Kālidāsa was unable to defeat in a debate the learned queen of the king of Karmāta. We are told by Bāṇa that "Rajyaśrī gradually grew up in daily increasing familiarity with friends expert in song, dance, etc., and with all accomplishments."¹⁴³⁰ Her royal brother while engaging Divākaramitra as her tutor says: "I desire that she should remain at my side and be comforted with your righteous discourse and your passionless instruction which produces salutary knowledge and your advice which calms the disposition, and your Buddhist doctrines which drive away worldly passions."¹⁴³¹ According to Hiuen Tsang "of great intelligence she was distinguished for her knowledge of the Sammatiya school doctrine of Buddhism and sitting behind the king was seen to follow with appreciation the learned discourse of Yuan Chwang on Mahāyāna doctrine."¹⁴³² Bāṇa also describes the wives of Sāmantas coming in thousands to the royal palace at the time of Harṣa's birth and keeping the birth-festival merry by dancing.¹⁴³³ In Harṣa's drama *Priyadarśikā*, the king assigns to the queen the task of arranging for the instruction of the maid *Priyadarśikā* in dancing, singing and vocal and instrumental music (*gīta-nṛtya-vādyādiṣu*). The *Ratnāvalī*¹⁴³⁴ represents the heroine *Sāgarikā* drawing the portrait of her lover on the picture-board (*chitrāphalākā*) with brush (*vartikā*) and colours carried in a basket (*samudagaka*). In *Ratnāvalī*¹⁴³⁵ *Susangatā* (a maid-servant of Queen *Vāsavadattā* and a friend of the heroine *Sāgarikā*) is also described as taking a pencil and drawing *Sāgarikā* in the pretext of *Rati* in representation.' In the century after Harṣa we find that *Saraswatī*, the learned wife of *Madana Miśra* adjudicated in the philosophical discussion between her husband and *Śaṅkara*. In the *Swapnavāsabadattā*¹⁴³⁶ *Vāsabadattā* is driven to weave the garland for the new Queen's marriage, she being well-versed in this art. *Rajaśekhara* held very forward and liberal views

¹⁴³⁰ *Harṣacharita*—Cowell and Thomas, p. 121.

¹⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹⁴³² *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

¹⁴³³ *Act*, II, 26.

¹⁴³⁴ *Beal*—*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 176.

¹⁴³⁵ *Act* II, 9; also *Act* II, 16.

¹⁴³⁶ *III*, 25.

about female education. He says¹⁴³⁷ that women too may become poetesses like men. Accomplishment is intimately connected with the soul but does not depend upon the distinction of the sex. Rājasekhara quotes thrice¹⁴³⁸ in his Kābyamīmāṃsā the opinion of his wife Abantisundari. It would thus appear that she was the authoress of some work on Poetics. The Karpūramañjarī was also first put on board at her desire. According to Rājasekhara¹⁴³⁹ in his time daughters of princes and prime ministers, courtesans and wives of jesters were found well-versed in sciences and were poetesses too. Rājasekhara quoted in Śūktimuktābali praises five such poetesses—(1) Śilabhaṭṭārikā who was quite a match for Bāṇa and whose style echoes the sense in Pāṇchāla fashion; (2) Vikatanitambā whose verses flowed with milk and honey; (3) Vijayāṅkā of the Karpāṭa country who was Sarasvatī incarnate, and an eminent successor to Kālidāsa in the Vidarva school of poetry, (4) Prabhudevī of Lāṭa who was full of the graces of rhetoric, and a mistress of all the arts, (5) the dark-complexioned, Vijjikā who described herself as having given the lie direct to Daṇḍin's description of the Goddess of Learning as all white. The Kathāsaritsāgara¹⁴⁴⁰ refers to a queen of Śātabāhana "who knew grammatical treatises." We are also told of a teacher of dancing named Labdhabara, hailing from Madhyadeśa who was appointed by king Harivara as "the instructor in dancing of the ladies of the harem." "He brought (Queen) Anangaprabhā so much excellence in dancing that she was an object of admiration even to her rival wives."¹⁴⁴¹ Another princess Haṃsābalī of Vidiṣā gave a demonstration of "her skill in dancing which she had lately been taught" before her father and her tutor Dardura.¹⁴⁴² We are further told that "king Udayatunga has a daughter named Udayābatī, well taught in all the

¹⁴³⁷ Paraṣabat yojitopi Kabīḥbabayaḥ. Saṃskāro hyātmani samabaiti na sraṇam paṇaṣam bā bivaḡamapekṣate—Text, p. 53.

¹⁴³⁸ Text, pp. 20, 46 and 57.

¹⁴³⁹ Śruyante drīyate cha rājaputrya mahāmātrādubhitara gaṇikāḥ kantuki-vāryācha śāstraprabatabudhwayaḥ kabayaścha—Text, p. 53.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Penzer, I., p. 69.

¹⁴⁴¹ Ibid., IV, p. 156.

¹⁴⁴² Ibid., VI, p. 41.

sciences and he has publicly announced that he will give her to the first brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya who conquers her in argument. And by her wonderful skill in argument she has silenced all other disputants" except Vinītamati to whom she was married.¹⁴⁴³ Another princess Gandharvadattā, daughter of Sāgaradattā "attained supreme skill in music." "And the princess has firmly resolved that whoever is so well-skilled in music that he can play on the lyre and sing perfectly in three scales a song in praise of Viṣṇu shall be her husband."¹⁴⁴⁴

Among the Tāntrics there were many learned women. Kalhapa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹⁴⁴⁵ refers to women as preceptors in the Tāntric cult. Stein remarks: "The tradition of Kashmerian paṇḍits knows of cases, as alluded to by K., in which women have assumed the position of Tāntric gurus."¹⁴⁴⁶

Buddhism produced a marvellous effect on many women who were moved by the attractive power of the Buddha's Dhamma and renounced the world to lead a pious life in the expectation of a happy rebirth or in order to annihilate rebirth altogether. Ladies of the Śākya family were naturally the earliest women to embrace the hardy life of nuns. The women appear to have enjoyed a greater amount of independence and free thinking among the Śākyas than among the peoples of the plains perhaps owing to the same scarcity of women that forced them to enact a law prohibiting multiple marriages. The change of attitude towards women is, however, apparent in the reluctance of Buddha to admit them into his religious order. His aunt Mahāprajāpati, wished to join the order but was refused three times. She appealed to Ānanda who interceded for her and at last the Buddha gave consent at the eloquent persuasion of Ānanda and rationalism triumphed for the time being.¹⁴⁴⁷ But the Buddha was careful to point out that but for this concession to women now declared eligible for admission into the order

¹⁴⁴³ Ibid., VI. 73-75.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., VIII. 23-29.

¹⁴⁴⁵ VI. 12 (Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. 237).

¹⁴⁴⁶ Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. 237 foot-note.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Vinaya Texts, S. B. E., Vol. XX. pt. III., pp. 302 *et seq.*; Compare Monoratha Purāṇa, Sinhalese edition, 203.

"the pure religion would have lasted long, the good law would have stood fast for a thousand years; but now it will last only 500 years".¹⁴⁴⁸ It is no wonder, therefore, that the general tendency of the Buddhist canon law would be to assign a distinctly inferior position to the bhikṣuṇīs and to their saṃgha.¹⁴⁴⁹

The bhikṣuṇīs had to undergo a period of probation for two years during which they would learn the six precepts. After this they would receive upasampadā ordination. This ordination, though carried on in the bhikṣuṇī saṃgha in exactly the same way as that of bhikṣus in the bhikṣu saṃgha had to be confirmed by the latter. They had to go twice a month to take instruction from a bhikṣu. They must not put any question without taking the bhikṣu's permission.¹⁴⁵⁰ They must not take their seat in the presence of a bhikṣu without his permission. They should receive instruction from the bhikṣu by turn.¹⁴⁵¹ They should learn the precepts common to the bhikṣus and the bhikṣuṇīs and the precepts specially meant for the latter.¹⁴⁵² Thus did the Buddhist nunneries become centres of education and culture, for, those who were admitted as nuns received instruction in the Buddhist doctrines. But we do not know whether the nunneries like the monasteries became centres of secular instruction, receiving pupils even from amongst those who were not intending to join the order. In Ceylon there are no such nunneries to-day, though there are a few girl's schools in the nunneries in Burma. Some Buddhist nuns are said to have visited women in their homes at intervals and at such meetings some oral teaching or discussion of religious precepts might have been taken up.

We hear of the intellectual attainments of the Buddhist nuns and some of their literary compositions are still preserved in the famous Therīgāthā. They are fine lyrics and in the opinion of some critics,

¹⁴⁴⁸ Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta V. 23.

¹⁴⁴⁹ For the details of the Bhikṣuṇī saṃgha, see Vinaya Pīṭaka I. pp. 130, 167; II. pp. 253-55, 257-58; IV. pp. 211, 220-21, 247; Compare Chullavagga X. and the Bhikṣuṇī Pātimokkha.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Vinaya Pīṭaka II. pp. 253-55.

¹⁴⁵¹ Vinaya Pīṭaka II., p. 258.

¹⁴⁵² Majjima Nikāya III. 270.

worthy of being ranked with those of Kālidāsa and Amaru. But it has been argued by some that the authorship of the verses in the Theri-gāthā cannot be ascribed to the women who sang them. "Be that as it may, there is no gainsaying of the fact, in the absence of any historical truth to the contrary that in the Buddha's days women who broke through the fetters of worldly life and gained the joys of asexual rational beings, sang extempore learned and thoughtful verses on many occasions—specially when Māra, the Buddhist Satan tried, in vain, his level best to lead astray these saintly sisters sometimes by joyful or lewd temptations and sometimes by frightful sights".¹⁴⁵³ As Dr. Bimalā Churn Law has pointed out, the gāthās sung by some women and the record of the intellectual attainments of certain individual ladies (mentioned by him) prove that a fairly high standard of literary culture was attained in feminine circles in the days of Gautama Buddha. Thus, Sikkā was a great preacher and one day she taught the Buddhist doctrine to the bhikṣuṇīs in such a way that everybody listened to her with rapt attention; even the tree-spirit was so much moved that it began to praise her. At this the people were excited, came to the sister and listened to her attentively.¹⁴⁵⁴ The Samyutta Nikāya also refers to her power of oratory. It says that she delivered a sermon to a big audience at Rājagṛha. A Yakkha being pleased with her declared in the streets of Rājagṛha that Sikkā was distributing honey and those who were wise should go and drink it. Buddhā Kuṇḍalakeśa entered the Order of the Nigaṇṭhas, learnt their doctrine and left their company. Thereafter she found no one equal in debate to her. But she was defeated by Sāriputra who advised her to go to the Buddha for refuge. She went to the Buddha who discerned the maturity of her knowledge.¹⁴⁵⁵ The Majjhima Nikāya¹⁴⁵⁶ speaks of Dhammadinnā who was asked one day by her husband to explain Sakkāyadiṭṭhi (belief in one's body to be soul), Sakkāya-nirodha, Ariya-aṭṭhangikomaggo, Saṃkhāras, Nirodhasamāpatti, the manner of rising up from nirodhasamāpatti

¹⁴⁵³ B. C. Law—Women in Buddhist Literature, pp. 61-62.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Therīgāthā Commentary, 57-61.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 99f.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Pt. I. pp. 299f.

and the several kinds of Vedanā. She gave satisfactory explanation to each. She was once questioned by her husband on the Khandas and the like. She answered these questions so correctly that she was praised by the Buddha and was ranked as the foremost among the sisters who could preach.¹⁴⁵⁷ She also mastered the Vinaya well.¹⁴⁵⁸ Sanghamittā, daughter of Aśoka,¹⁴⁵⁹ was well-versed in the three-fold science. She knew well the magical powers.¹⁴⁶⁰ She taught Vinaya Pīṭaka in Anurādhapura in Ceylon and the five collections (of the Sutta Pīṭaka) and the seven treatises (of the Abhidhamma).¹⁴⁶¹ From the Sutta-Nipāta¹⁴⁶² we learn that Khemā was vastly learned, eloquent and full of ready wit. When king Pasenadi asked her the reason of Buddha not answering the question whether a being after death is reborn or not, she asked the king whether he had anybody who could count the sands of the Ganges and the drops of water in the sea; the king answered in the negative. Then she said: "If any being is free from attainment to five khandhas, it becomes immeasurable and fathomless like a sea. Hence rebirth after death of such a being is beyond conception". Uttarā like Sanghamittā was well-versed in the three-fold science and like her she, Mallā, Pabbatā Pheggu, Dhammadāsī, Paśādapāla and Aggimittā taught in Anurādhapura the Vinaya Pīṭaka, five collections of the Sutta Pīṭaka and the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma.¹⁴⁶³ Hemā like Sanghamittā was well-versed in the three-fold science and like her taught the Vinaya Pīṭaka, the five collections of the Sutta Pīṭaka, and the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma.¹⁴⁶⁴ Sīvalā and Mahāruhā taught in Anurādhapura the Vinaya Pīṭaka, the five collections of the Sutta Pīṭaka and the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma.¹⁴⁶⁵ Añjali Samuddanāvā taught Vinaya Pīṭaka in Anurādhapura.¹⁴⁶⁶ Sumanā, Mahilā, Mahādevī, Padumā and Hemāsā

¹⁴⁵⁷ Therīgāthā Commentary, 15; Compare Monoratha Purāṇa, pp. 360-63; Aṅguttara Nikāya I. 25.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Dwīpabaṇṣa, Sec. XVIII.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Mahābaṇṣa, p. 101.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Dwīpabaṇṣa, Sec. XV.

¹⁴⁶¹ Ibid., XVIII.

¹⁴⁶² IV. pp. 374-80.

¹⁴⁶³ Dwīpabaṇṣa, Sec. XVIII.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

also taught the Vinaya Pīṭaka in Anurādhapura.¹⁴⁶⁷ Kālī was well-versed in the whole of the sacred scriptures and taught the Vinaya Pīṭaka in Anurādhapura.¹⁴⁶⁸ Aggimittā was well-versed in the three-fold science.¹⁴⁶⁹ Sapattā, Channā, Upālī and Revatī were the highest among the Vinaya-studying nuns.¹⁴⁷⁰ Patācārā was the foremost of the nuns who mastered the Vinaya Pīṭaka.¹⁴⁷¹ Uppalavannā, Sobhitā, Isidāsikā, Viśākhā, Sabalā, Saṃghadāsī, Nandā, Saddhammanandī, Somā, Giriddhī, Dāsī and Dhammā were also well-versed in the Vinaya.¹⁴⁷² Nanduttarā was versed in Vijjā and Sippa.¹⁴⁷³ The Divyāvadāna¹⁴⁷⁴ refers to female students reading Buddhavachana at night. Cūlanāgā, Dhannā, Soṇā, Mahātissā, Cūla-śumanā and Mahāśumanā were learned and versed in the tradition.¹⁴⁷⁵ Jenti or Jentā developed the seven Sambojjhangas.¹⁴⁷⁶

We learn from Kautilya's Arthasāstra¹⁴⁷⁷ that female slaves were taught by teachers "arts such as singing, playing on musical instruments, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like viṇā, pipe and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing and the art of attracting and captivating the mind of others." The Therīgāthā commentary¹⁴⁷⁸ says that Puṇṇa or Puṇṇikā, the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍaka's domestic slave obtained Sotāpattiphalaṃ after hearing the Sihānada Suttanta. She defeated a Brahmin in argument and was therefore given freedom by her master. The Dhammapada commentary¹⁴⁷⁹ says that Khujjuttarā, a maid-servant of Sāmābatī, Queen of Udena, king of Kośāmbī used to steal four out of the eight Kahāpaṇas daily given to her for buying flowers. One day she heard the sermon delivered by the Buddha in the house of the garland-

¹⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., sec. XV.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., Sec. XVIII.

¹⁴⁷¹ Aṅguttara Nikāya I. 25; Compare Dwīpapaṇṣā, sec. XVIII.

¹⁴⁷² Dwīpapaṇṣā, sec. XVIII.

¹⁴⁷³ Therīgāthā Commentary, p. 87.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Page 532.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Dwīpapaṇṣā, sec. XVIII.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Therīgāthā Commentary, p. 27.

¹⁴⁷⁷ R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., pp. 155-56.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Pp. 199f.

¹⁴⁷⁹ I. pp. 208f.

maker where she went to buy flowers and obtained Sotāpattiphalam. Since then she discontinued stealing and bought flowers for eight kahāpaṇas. The queen questioned her how she had bought so many flowers for eight kahāpaṇas. The girl confessed her guilt and said that after hearing the Buddha's sermon, she had come to realise that stealing a thing is a sin. The queen asked her to repeat the sermon she had heard. Since then the slave-girl was regarded as a mother and *teacher* by the queen and her 500 female attendants, who asked her to go to the Master daily to hear the Dhamma and repeat it to them. In course of time she mastered the Tripīṭaka.

The cultivation of the æsthetic sense in women contributed to the formation of a class of Saubhikās or Śobhānikās which existed as early as the days Patañjali. The expression *lenasobhika* in the Madhura inscriptions is probably also of similar reference. These inscriptions show that women actually appeared on the stage.¹⁴⁸⁰ A class of gay women is depicted in the Kāmasūtra¹⁴⁸¹ as frequenters of *goṣṭhis* and *ghaṭas* and Bhāsa¹⁴⁸² refers to the gaiety of life among these maidens. From Kautilya's Arthaśāstra¹⁴⁸³ we learn that actresses were taught by teachers "arts such as singing, playing on musical instruments, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like the *viṇā*, pipe and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing and the art of attracting and captivating the minds of others." Kautilya also says that the wives of actors and others of similar profession were also taught "various languages and the use of signals (*sanja*) and that they were employed by the state in detecting the wicked and in murdering or deluding foreign spies."¹⁴⁸⁴

In common with the other parts of the world prostitution in India dates from the earliest times; but through the clouds of myth and

¹⁴⁸⁰ Arch. Survey Rep. for 1903-4, p. 123f.

¹⁴⁸¹ Sūtra 13.

¹⁴⁸² Bhāsa: *Abhimārika*, pp. 69, 86f.

¹⁴⁸³ R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans., pp. 155-56.

¹⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

mystery which cover the dawn of Indian History any distinction between the secular and the sacred prostitution must be looked upon as little more than conjecture. Secular prostitution is mentioned in the R̥gveda¹⁴⁸⁵ while in the Vājasenī Samhitā¹⁴⁸⁶ it seems to be recognised as a profession. In the law-books¹⁴⁸⁷ the prostitute is regarded with disfavour. The Jātakas¹⁴⁸⁸ refer to dancing girls (nātakī) who were accomplished in dancing and music (naccagīta-vāditakuśalā). The dancing women employed to keep prince Siddhārtha in hilarity were skilful in dancing, singing and in playing on musical instruments.¹⁴⁸⁹ They seem to have lived a more intellectual life than other women: Ambapālī invited the Buddha, Aspasia received Socrates in her house. We are told that Ambapālī was so well-versed in dancing, singing and lute-playing that she charged fifty kahāpaṇas for one night.¹⁴⁹⁰ Sālavatī was installed as a courtesan by a merchant of Rājagaha. She was an expert in dancing, singing and lute-playing and her fee was one hundred kahāpaṇas for one night.¹⁴⁹¹

Kautilya¹⁴⁹² refers to "prostitutes whether or not of a prostitute's family" "noted for their beauty, youth and *accomplishments*" and lays down that the Superintendent of Prostitutes should employ such women at the king's court on a salary of Rs. 1000 paṇas per annum. Vātsyāyana in describing the qualities to be possessed by a courtesan says that she must possess "*a knowledge of Sexual science and its attendant arts*¹⁴⁹³ *and a taste for arts (sixty-four in number)*."¹⁴⁹⁴ In another passage Vātsyāyana¹⁴⁹⁵ says that she (the prostitute) should seek help from "*those that are learning arts (sixty-four in number) from her*".

¹⁴⁸⁵ Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index, 1912, I. p. 365; II. p. 480 *et seq.*; R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner—Vedische Studien, 1881-99, I. pp. 196, 275, 306 *et seq.*; II. p. 120.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Manu IX. 259; IV. 209, 211, 219, 220; V. 90.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Fausball, Jātaka II. p. 328; V. p. 249.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Rhys Davids—Buddhist Birth Stories, p. 171.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Vinaya Texts, Part II. p. 171.

¹⁴⁹¹ Ibid., p. 172f.

¹⁴⁹² R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 153.

¹⁴⁹³ Kāmasūtra, Bk. VI. Ch. I. §1, 14.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., §1, 13.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., §1, 9.

That they also used to hold *discussions on arts* is also referred to by Vātsyāyana.¹⁴⁹⁶ Vātsyāyana is more explicit in Bk. I. Ch. III. of his Kāmasūtra regarding the education of prostitutes. After enumerating the 64 kalās which every woman should learn he says—

“There is another set of 64 arts different from the foregoing taught by Pāñchāla and these will be shown in the next book—Samprayogika—each in its proper place. For, this section treats of the actual courses of sexual intercourse and the Pāñchāla arts are nothing but these acts. A courtesan who has good character, beauty and virtue, will get, on account of her increased worth due to a knowledge of these 64 kalās, the rank of gaṇikā (a more honourable class among veśyās) as well as an honourable place in a gathering of persons. Such a woman will always be rewarded by kings and praised by gifted persons and her connection will be sought by many people. She thus becomes an example to be followed by the women of her class.”¹⁴⁹⁷

Kautilya is no less explicit about the education of prostitutes. According to him *prostitutes were taught by teachers “arts such as singing, playing on musical instrument, reading, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like lute, pipe, drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing and the art of attracting and captivating the minds of others”*¹⁴⁹⁸ and he says that these teachers are to be “endowed with maintenance by the state.”¹⁴⁹⁹ Kautilya also refers to rūpadāsīs who were experts in making garlands, scents and the like.¹⁵⁰⁰ Kautilya further says: “They (the teachers of prostitutes) shall train up the sons of prostitutes to be chief actors (rangopajīvi) on the stage.”¹⁵⁰¹ Vātsyāyana also lays down rules for the *education of the daughters of the prostitutes and Natas*. Says he—

“The necessity for initiating her (courtesan's) daughter in love affairs having arisen, the mother should allow her to be *trained* in these

¹⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., §1. 25.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 155.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., Book I. Ch. III, §1s. 17-21.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 154.

matters by a female friend or by a clever woman-servant of hers. After she (the daughter) has thus gained the *knowledge of* sexual science and been trained in the different postures in copulation and finding her arrived at the lovely youthful age, she should be proclaimed as a clever lovely girl and thus gain voluptuous youths for her. These are the ways current from ancient times."¹⁵⁰²

"The cases of the daughters of Natas (those men that have as their profession dancing and singing) may similarly be understood. She should be given to the one who would *train her up in the arts of dancing and singing*."¹⁵⁰³

Kalhapa also refers to the education of courtesans. Says he: "*Courtesans*, the official (kāyastha), the clerk (divira) and the merchants being all deceitful by nature, are (in this respect) superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been *trained under a teacher's advice*."¹⁵⁰⁴

Dandīn in his Daśakumāracharita narrates the story of a famous dancer, who was also a prostitute who suddenly pretended to feel the desire of becoming a devotee. She accordingly went to an ascetic to carry out her purpose. Soon, however, her mother follows to dissuade her from her intention and addressed the holy man as follows:— "Worthy sir,.....as soon as she (this daughter of mine) was old enough *I had her carefully instructed in the arts of dancing, acting, playing on musical instruments, singing, painting, preparing perfumes and flowers, in writing and conversation and even to some extent in grammar, logic and philosophy. She was taught to play various games with skill and dexterity, how to dress well and show herself off to the greatest advantage in public*.....Yet after all the time, trouble and money which I have spent upon her, just when I was beginning to reap the fruit of my labours, the ungrateful girl has fallen in love with a stranger, a young Brahmin without property and wishes to marry him and give up her profession.....and because I oppose this marriage she declares that she will renounce the world

¹⁵⁰² Kāmasūtra Bk. VII. Ch. I. śl. 20.

¹⁵⁰³ Ibid., śls. 23-24.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. II. p. 12.

and become a devotee."¹⁵⁰⁵ The *Kathāsaritsāgara*¹⁵⁰⁶ refers to "Rūpaṇikā's mother Makaradaṃṣṭrā, who had *trained up many courtesans*."

The dancing girls who are often attached to temples were generally called Devadāsīs (maid-servants of the god). Kautilya in his *Arthasāstra* Bk. II. Ch. XXIII. refers to Devadāsīs.¹⁵⁰⁷ Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāgiṇī*¹⁵⁰⁸ and Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* refers to devadāsīs. Ibn Asir also refers to 300 females singing and dancing at the gate of the temple of Somanāth. From the story of Rūpaṇikā in Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*¹⁵⁰⁹ it is quite clear that Rūpaṇikā combined the professions of a prostitute and a temple-servant. The Chinese traveller Chau Ju-kwa in his work, *Chu-fan-chi*, dealing with the Chinese and Arab trade of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries refers to "four thousand Buddhist temple buildings (in Gujrat) in which live over twenty-thousand dancing girls who sing twice daily while offering food to the Buddha (i. e., the idols) and while offering flowers."¹⁵¹⁰ He also speaks of similar customs in Cambodia.¹⁵¹¹ Marco Polo (about 1290 A. D.) refers to such dancing-girls attached to temples in the "Province of Maabar" (i. e., Tanjore).¹⁵¹² Some Tamil inscriptions¹⁵¹³ refer to such devadāsīs. One of these inscriptions shows that in 1004 A. D. the chief temple at Tanjore had four hundred tali-cheri-peṇḍugal or "women of the temple" attached to it. The whole Chola country was full of temples with devadāsīs in attendance, as is clear from this inscription, which

¹⁵⁰⁵ "Anaryan" (F. F. Arbathnot)—*Early Ideas: A group of Hindoo Stories*, 1881, p. 76.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Penzer, Vol. I. p. 140.

¹⁵⁰⁷ R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 140.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Stein—*The Chronicles of Kashmere*, Vol. I. p. 148.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Penzer, Vol. I. p. 139.

¹⁵¹⁰ Eng. Trans., by Hirth and Rockhill, 1911, p. 92.

¹⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁵¹² Yule and Cordier—*The Book of Marco Polo*, 1903, Vol. II. pp. 345-46; G. H. Parks—*The Travels of Marco Polo*, pp. 279-80,

¹⁵¹³ E. Hultzsch—*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. part III. pp. 259-303.

gives a long list of the dancing girls who had been transferred to the Tañjavūr (Tanjore) temple. After each name details are added showing among others from what temple the girl originally came. Paes also refers to such devadāsīs in the temples of Vijayanagar. Travellers like Linschoten (1598), De Bry (1599), Gouvea (1606), Bernier (1660), Thevenot (1661), Fryer (1673), Wheeler (1701), a writer in *Letters Edificantes* (1702), Orme (1770), Sonnerat (1782) and Moor (1794) also refer to such devadāsīs.¹⁵¹⁴

This ancient connection of dancing girls with temple worship is nothing peculiar to India. Among the ancient Jews harlotry appears to have been connected with religious worship and to have been not only tolerated but also encouraged. In Egypt, Phœnicia, Chaldæa, Cannan, Persia, the worship of Isis, Moloch, Bael, Astarte, Myletta and other deities consist of the most extravagant social orgies and temples were the centres of vice. It is, needless for our present purpose to speculate about the genesis of this custom. Female artists were possibly introduced in temples more for the performance of certain specified duties, than for the purpose of pandering to the libidinous taste of those who frequent such places of worship. The dancing girl is not necessarily bad, but there is in her life much temptation to do evil and little stimulus to do right and where one may live a blameless life, many others go wrong and drop below the margin of respectability. Thus in time, harlotry came to be regarded as inseparably connected with the vocation of dancing girls and as an essential feature of temple worship.

Coming to our subject proper we find that these devadāsīs received some training to enable them to perform their work of dancing, reciting and singing. Jayapīḍa of Kashmere in the course of his tour of adventure entered the city of Paundrabardhana and saw dancing and singing (performed there in the temple) in accordance with the precepts of Bharata.¹⁵¹⁵ One of these dancing girls was Kamalā who

¹⁵¹⁴ See Hobson Jobson, Yule and Burnell, under "dancing girl", "devadāsi", "bayadera", "nautch girl" and "canchurree".

¹⁵¹⁵ Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 160.

was "*versed in (all) arts.*"¹⁵¹⁶ A Tamil Inscription¹⁵¹⁷ dated 1004 A. D. gives the names and shares of the *dancing-masters*, musicians, singers etc. Abbe J. A. Dubois in his famous *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* says: "Every temple of any importance has in its service a band of eight, twelve or more..... They.....are the only women in India who *enjoy the privilege of learning to read, to dance and to sing.*"¹⁵¹⁸ According to Dr. John Shortt¹⁵¹⁹ these devadāsīs begin a strenuous three-year course of singing and dancing at the early age of five. According to Mr. N. S. Aiyar in ancient days the devadāsīs of Travancore who became experts in singing and dancing received the title of Rāyar (queen) which appears to have been last conferred in 1847 A. D. According to Syed Siraj Ul Hassan the training of the bogams (the usual term for Telegu dancing girls) is most thorough and complete. Says he: "Commencing their studies at the early age of seven or eight, they are able to perform at twelve or thirteen years of age and continue dancing till they are thirty or forty years old."¹⁵²⁰

That the institutions of both secular and sacred prostitution were utilized by the state as secret service agents is evident from Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*. According to it women of accomplishments should be employed as spies inside the houses of kings who are inimical, friendly, intermediate, of low rank, neutral and in the houses of the superintendent of such Kings' eighteen Government departments.¹⁵²¹ According to him "women artisans or prostitutes should be employed to convey information to its destined place under the pretext of taking in musical instruments or through cipher-writing (*guḍhalekhya*)".¹⁵²² Thus even women artisans, not to speak of prostitutes, knew the art of reading signs, of cipher-writing and probably that of playing on musical

¹⁵¹⁶ Ibid., p. 161.

¹⁵¹⁷ E. Hultzsch—South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II. Part III. pp. 259-303.

¹⁵¹⁸ Eng. Trans., by Henry K. Beauchamp, 1906, Third Edition, pp. 585-87.

¹⁵¹⁹ Paper on the Bayadere or Dancing girls of South India, Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London, 1867-69, Vol. III. London 1870, pp. 182-94.

¹⁵²⁰ The Tribes and Castes of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1920, Vol. I. p. 94.

¹⁵²¹ R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 25.

¹⁵²² Ibid., p. 24.

instruments. It is probably on account of this service obtained from them by the state that Kautilya lays down that the Superintendent of weaving should employ mothers of prostitutes and devādāsīs who have ceased to attend temples on service to cut wool, fibre, cotton, panicle (tūlā), hemp and flax and pay them wages according to the quantity and quality of their work.¹⁵²³

It is no less interesting to find that some women had also some knowledge of military arts and sciences. From the hymns of the R̥gveda we find that non-Aryan girls joined the army in large numbers. In their case some military training may be presumed, as they played their part so well that men of the time did not regard it as easy or ungallant to war with women.¹⁵²⁴ It would appear that some military training was not barred to women as might be inferred from the mention in Patañjali of Śāktikī, which means a female spear-bearer¹⁵²⁵ and from the story in the Rāmāyaṇa of Kaikeyī saving her husband Daśaratha, by fighting against his enemies. Military arts have been enumerated by Vātsyāyana in his list of 64 kalās to be learnt by women in general (See kalās Nos. 50 and 63). This is corroborated by Kautilya who says: "On getting up from the bed, the king shall be received by the troops of women armed with bows." "The Karpūramañjarī of Rājāśekhara¹⁵²⁶ refers to girls with names ending in keli, Anagakeli, Barkarakeli, Sundarakeli, Rājakeli and Kandarpakeli as holding shields and swords and thus guarding the prison of Karpūramañjarī. An inscription¹⁵²⁷ of Mihira Bhoja discloses bands of women who gloried in the military profession. Paes¹⁵²⁸ who came to India in 1531 A. D. says: "They also say that each of them (queens of the king of Vijayanagara, has sixty maidens.....within, with these maidens, they say there are twelve thousand women; for you must know that there are *women who handle sword and shield and others who wrestle* and others who blow trumpets and others pipes and other instruments which are different from ours".

¹⁵²³ Ibid., p. 140.

¹⁵²⁴ Pāṇini IV. 1, 48, 63; Patañjali on IV. 1, 15.

¹⁵²⁵ Konow and Lanman's edition, p. 279.

¹⁵²⁶ Sewell—A Forgotten Empire, pp. 248-49.

¹⁵²⁴ R̥gveda V. 61; 80, 6; VII. 78, 5; VIII. 33, 19; 91.

¹⁵²⁷ Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII. No. 13.

The above survey makes it clear that the education of girls in Ancient India fitted them for the role they were to play in life as a good housewife, an expert actress or a trained dancing girl attached to temples for religious functions. We have seen that the Vedic girl received a fair share of masculine attention and liberal education. The frequent prayers for the concord of husband and wife in the Vedic texts are certain proof that feminine subservience could not be taken for granted and co-operation had to be prayed for. But in course of time the normal woman came to have her girlhood education in which emphasis was laid on her modesty, regard for family life, care of religion, children and the kitchen and on domestic management and husbanding of resources. Henceforward we rarely have figures like Vedic Maitreyi's, hidden behind philosophical theories or Buddhist nuns poring over Buddha's words by midnight. It is rarely, too, we have a Vasantasenā, the hataera of the *Mṛcchhakatikā*, as full of the intensity of life as man, sparkling, scintillating and businesslike. What a contrast is presented to the passing student, by the lady-hymnists of the Vedic period, and their self-conscious sweetness and self-assertion in the Upaniṣads where women vie with men in intellectual striving and outlook on life; and by the patient Griseldas of the Epic and Sūtra periods however intelligent and cultured, whose delight lay not in inroads into the citadels of masculine rights and privileges but in the routine duties of domestic husbandry and the fashioning of future men. Thus the sexes came to regard their functions in life as complementary and not competitive. The queen of the house knew not unwilling child-bearing, unwanted babes or the need for the exercise of a modern 'dreadful patience'. Her work was one round of self-denial and social service, the coping-stone of India's structural edifice.

CHAPTER X.

THE EDUCATION OF THE PRINCE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

In the R̥gvedic Age the sons of rājanyas undoubtedly shared with the other Aryans the knowledge of the Veda but the incessant struggle with the non-Aryans must have made their education more military in character. There is a passage in the hymns of the R̥gveda¹⁵²⁹ which refers to military combats among young warriors and as the rājanyas became marked off from other classes of society as those whose function was to fight for their protection, the practice of arms must have become specialised.

But in the Brāhmaṇa period when with the progress of Aryan colonisation in the East, the battle cries were drowned in the peaceful avocations of life, the princes had enough leisure to devote their attention to Vedic studies. In the Atharvaveda¹⁵³⁰ there is a reference to the king guarding his country by brahmacharya, though it lends itself to a different interpretation. To this may be added the evidence of the Kāthaka Saṃhitā¹⁵³¹ in its reference to the rite intended to benefit one, who, although not a brāhmaṇa, had yet studied (vidyām anūcya) but had not acquired fame. More conclusive, however, is the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads regarding learned kṣatriyas and princes who studied the Vedas and attained proficiency in the sacred lore.

Thus among the princes, Janaka, king of Videha had the highest reputation as a master of Brahmanavidyā. He had learnt portion of the subject from the various brāhmaṇa āchāryas viz., Udaṅka, Barku, Gardabhivipīta, Satyakāma and Vidagdha Sākalya.¹⁵³² We find in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹⁵³³ that King Janaka, meets with some travelling brāhmaṇas named Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, Somaśusma Satyayajñi and Yājñabalkya and asks them how they offered the Agnihotra but with

¹⁵²⁹ IV. 42, 5.

¹⁵³¹ IX. 16.

¹⁵³³ XI. 6, 2, 1.

¹⁵³⁰ XV. 5. 17.

¹⁵³² Bṛhad. Up., IV. 1.

regard to the answer of Yājñabalkya, the king compliments him by saying: "Thou O Yājñabalkya, hast approached very close to the solution of the Agnihotra," pointing out at the same time the incompleteness of his answer in certain respects. The brāhmaṇas then said amongst themselves: "This rājanya has surpassed us in speaking, come let us invite him to a theological discussion". Yājñabalkya however interposed: "We are brāhmaṇas and he a rājanya; if we overcome him, we shall ask ourselves, whom have we overcome? But if he overcome us, men will say a rājanya has overcome brāhmaṇas. Do not follow this course". In the end the Agnihotra was explained by Janaka and on Yājñabalkya offering him a boon, he replied: "Let mine be the privilege of asking questions of thee when I list," thus showing his thirst for knowledge. "Like the traveller furnishing himself with a ship or wagon for a long journey, the king (Janaka) had his mind equipped for the eternal journey of the soul with upaniṣads or doctrines". His former teachers (mentioned above) had taught him respectively six definitions of Brahman as Speech, Breath, Eye, Ear, Manas and Heart. Yājñabalkya further develops these definitions by pointing out the upaniṣads or hidden attributes belonging to those six appearances as their supports (āyatana) viz., Prajñā, belonging to Vāk (for, knowledge is conveyed by speech), Priyam to Prāṇa (for, life always seeks its self-preservation), Satyam to Eye (which conveys truth better than the ear), Anantam to ear, Ānanda to Manas (for, thought is the source of Bliss) and Sthiti to Hṛdaya (for, in heart rests every thing). At the conclusion of each lesson, the king offered the gift of 1000 cows with big bulls like elephants; but Yājñabalkya each time declined the offer on the ground that, under his father's instruction, a teacher could not accept it before he had completed the teaching of his pupil. On another occasion King Janaka leaving his throne approached Yājñabalkya and bowing to him requested instruction. Yājñabalkya hailed the king as one who was self-collected by the study of the Upaniṣads, worthy of honour like the gods, and yet learned by studying the Vedas and listening to Upaniṣadic discourses. Therefore to such a competent person he put the most difficult question: "Whither will you go after death?" The question could not be answered by the king and was made the

basis of further abstruse instruction by Yājñabalkya upon a theme which baffles human thought to this day.¹⁵³⁴ The substance of his instruction is that "the soul after death goes nowhere whence it has not been from the very beginning nor does it become other than that which it has always been, one eternal omnipresent Ātman."¹⁵³⁵ At the conclusion of the instruction, the king was so much moved as to lay at the feet of his preceptor the gift of his entire kingdom with himself as his slave. There is recorded a third occasion on which Janaka received instruction from Yājñabalkya. Here the king first proposes the question: "What serves man for light?" Yājñabalkya explains that, when external light such as Sun, Moon or fire fails, there shines the inner light of his self or Ātman. This self is defined as "the spirit behind the organs of the sense which is the essential knowledge and shines within the heart." That spirit at birth assumes a body and becomes united with all evils, but the evils are left behind at death. A person, as Yājñabalkya further explains, consists of desires. As is his desire, so is his will; as is his will, so is the deed; and whatever deed he does, that he will reap. To whatever object a man's own mind is attached, to that he goes strenuously together with his deed; and having obtained the complete consequences of whatever deed he does on earth, he returns again from that world (which is the temporary reward of his deed) to this world of action. But as to the man who does not so desire, who, not desiring, freed from desires, is satisfied in his desires, or desire the Self only, his vital spirit does not depart elsewhere—being Brahman he goes to Brahman. When all desires which once entered his heart are undone, then does the mortal become immortal, then he obtains Brahman, with his body cast off like the slough of a snake. If a man understands the self, thus saying "I am He" what could he wish or desire that he should pine after the body? Knowing this the people of old did not wish for offspring. What shall we do with offspring, they said, we who have this Self and this world of Brahman? At the end of these words, "than which deeper, finer, more noble were never uttered by human lips"

¹⁵³⁴ Compare Deussen's candid confession: "Nor have we even to-day any better reply to give" (*Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 90).

¹⁵³⁵ Deussen—*Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 348.

(as remarked by Deussen) the king repeated his precious gift, saying: "Sir, I give you the Videhas and also myself to be together your slaves."¹⁵³⁶

Similarly, we find that king Bṛhadratha of the Ikṣvāku race learnt Brahmanvidyā from the brāhmaṇa ascetic Sākāyana.¹⁵³⁷ King Janaśruti was at great pains in searching for the brāhmaṇa Raikya to learn from him the Brahmanvidyā.¹⁵³⁸

Again in the Chāndogya¹⁵³⁹ we find that Pravahana Jaivāli, king of the Pāñchālas gave evidence of greater knowledge of Sauravidyā than Śilaka and Dālbhya. Again according to the Bṛihad.¹⁵⁴⁰ and Chāndogya¹⁵⁴¹ Upaniṣads the aforesaid king of Pāñchāla silenced Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and his father and treating them as disciples communicated to them the knowledge of Pañchāgnividya.¹⁵⁴²

A narrative in the Kauṣītaki¹⁵⁴³ and the Bṛhad.¹⁵⁴⁴ Upaniṣads relates that once a brāhmaṇa youth Gārgya Bālāki came to king Ajātaśatru of Kāśī to speak to him regarding Brahman. What Bālāki said did not meet with the King's appreciation. Then the son of Bālāki approached the king with fuel in his hand and said: "Let me attend thee (as thy pupil)."¹⁵⁴⁵ The king replied: "I regard it as an inversion of the proper rule that a kṣatriya should initiate a brāhmaṇa".¹⁵⁴⁶ "But" continued he: "Come, I will instruct thee." Then taking him by the hand he departed.

Another learned king was Aśwapati Kaikeya. To Uddālaka Āruṇi came five brāhmaṇas named Prācīnaśāla, Satyayajña, Indradyumna, Jana and Buḍila to learn Vaiśvānaravidyā. Āruṇi, diffident as to the fullness of his knowledge of the subject, asked them to go to king Aśwapati Kaikeya with fuel in their hands. The king said: "How is this, venerable

¹⁵³⁶ Bṛhad. Up., IV. 1-4.

¹⁵³⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵³⁸ VI. 2. 1f.

¹⁵³⁹ It treats of the paths along which men depart after death and so forth.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Samitpāṇi pratichakrame upāyānit—Kauś. Up., IV. 1. 19.

¹⁵⁴¹ Pratilomarūpameba brāhmaṇamupanayeta—Kauś. Up., IV. 1. 19.

¹⁵³⁷ Maitrā. Up., 1f.

¹⁵³⁸ I. 8f.

¹⁵⁴¹ V. 3. 1f.

¹⁵⁴² IV. 1.

¹⁵⁴⁴ II. 1.

sirs, when ye are learned in the scriptures and sons of men learned in the scriptures?" They said: "Venerable Sir, thou knowest Vaiśvānarā thoroughly: teach us Him." He said: "I do indeed know Vaiśvānarā thoroughly: put your fuel on (the fire), ye are become my pupil."¹⁵⁴⁷

It is no less interesting to find that there were also some royal sages, *rājanya-rsis* as they are called (in the Pañc. Br. XII. 12. 8.). We may also refer to the tradition preserved in the Nirukta¹⁵⁴⁸ relating how Devāpi, a king's son became the purohita of his younger brother Śāntanu. From the Raghuvamśam of Kālidāsa we learn that king Kārtiyabīrya was engaged in metaphysical learning.¹⁵⁴⁹ Similarly, king Brahmaniṣṭha was well-versed in metaphysics.¹⁵⁵⁰ In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹⁵⁵¹ we find a *rājanya* as a lute-player and singer at the Aśvamedha sacrifice, probably the forerunner of *kṣatriya* bards from whom sprang the Epics.

Despite their military character it is quite clear from the Epics that the princes received a liberal education. The educational attainments of the princes mentioned in the Epics would show that they studied Dhanurveda, the lore of elephants¹⁵⁵² and chariots,¹⁵⁵³ *langhaṇa* (jumping) and *plavana* (swimming)¹⁵⁵⁴ and also subjects like the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Nitiśāstra, Arthabivāga, Vārttā, Dandaniti, Music and Poetry, Lekhya (writing)¹⁵⁵⁵ and Ālekhya (painting).¹⁵⁵⁶ In the Rāmāyaṇa¹⁵⁵⁷ we find Rāma asking Bharata whether he studies the three Vidyās (*tisravidyāḥ*) where as is apparent *Ānvikṣiki* has been dropped from the curriculum of studies as not of much importance to princes. Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhir that the king should study the Vedas and Rājanīti.¹⁵⁵⁸ Devarṣi Nārada enquired of king Yudhiṣṭhir whether he is giving military

¹⁵⁴⁷ Chāndogya Up., V. 11; Śat. Brāh., X. 6. 11.

¹⁵⁴⁸ II. 10.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Canto XVIII. 28.

¹⁵⁵² Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa 80, 27f.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 63rd adhyāya.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Canto VI. 38.

¹⁵⁵¹ XIII. 4. 3. 5.

¹⁵⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵⁷ II. 100. 68.

training to the princes through experts in military science.¹⁵⁵⁹ Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhir: "Dharma—(Law) is of four kinds—that laid down by the Vedas, by the Smṛtis, by sages and that determined by self-examination. The king should be conversant with all these. That king is really proficient in Law who knows it as sanctioned by Tarka-sāstra, Veda-sāstra, Vārttā-sāstra and Daṇḍanīti".¹⁵⁶⁰ Professor Hopkins observes: "How are we to interpret this? The science of arms required years of patient study. Is it conceivable that a boy otherwise occupied in physical training should by the age of sixteen be master of the special skill that gave him power on the battle-field and at the same time have found time to commit to memory even one Vedic collection? It is clear that the law is later than the epic on this point; and even there such knowledge is only to be assumed as is desirable for the warrior in general. The active young knight and busy trader must have performed their duties towards the Veda in a very perfunctory way, if at all."

In the Rāmāyaṇa¹⁵⁶¹ we are thus told about the education of Rāma and his brothers: "All of them were versed in the Vedas and heroic and intent upon the welfare of others. And all were accomplished in knowledge and endowed with virtues and among them all, the exceedingly puissant Rāma, having truth for prowess, was the desire of every one and spotless like unto the Moon himself. He could ride on elephants and horses and was an adept in managing cars (chariots) and he was ever engaged in the study of arms and aye occupied in ministering unto his sire..... Those best of men ever engaged in the study of the Vedas, were accomplished in the art of archery and always intent upon ministering unto their father."

In due course Rāma had his initiation,¹⁵⁶² observed the vow of celibacy as a student¹⁵⁶³ in the house of his guru¹⁵⁶⁴ and on finishing his education took the ceremonial bath.¹⁵⁶⁵ Rāma was endowed with knowledge; he has seen the end of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas; he

¹⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., Savāparba, 5th Adhyāya.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., Śāntiparba, 132nd adhyāya.

¹⁵⁶¹ Bālakāṇḍa (M. N. Dutt's Eng. Trans.), pp. 51f.

¹⁵⁶² Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 20th sarga.

¹⁵⁶³ Ibid., 82nd sarga.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 1st sarga.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 1st and 82nd sargas.

was well-versed in Dhanurveda and all the śāstras. (Bālakāṇḍa, 1st sarga). From childhood he has studied the Vedas, observed the vow of brahmacharya, served his gurus and has thus grown lean and thin.¹⁵⁶⁶ He is well educated¹⁵⁶⁷ and "Learning resides in him."¹⁵⁶⁸ He is the strongest and most learned of all and is well-versed in the use of weapons and is the repository of penance.¹⁵⁶⁹ He learnt from Viśwāmitra two mantras called Balā and Atibalā which are the mothers of all learning.¹⁵⁷⁰ He also learnt from Viśwāmitra the use of innumerable weapons.¹⁵⁷¹ He used to cultivate the śāstras to find out their profound truths, being surrounded by aged and learned sādhus of good conduct during the intervals of the practice of weapons.¹⁵⁷² "He has returned home after finishing his education in the house of his guru being a master of Vedas and Vedāṅgas. He has mastered the use of all kinds of missiles and weapons of magical potency or not..... His teachers are aged Brahmins who have seen the true import of Dharma. He is endowed with genius and memory and proficient in the three Vargas... .. He has well mastered poetry and philosophy and all those arts that are specially suited for travelling purposes. He is proficient in Arthavivāga. He is a passed master in riding on horses and elephants and in training them. He is an expert in constructing phalanx, in marching against the enemy and in killing them. He is an expert charioteer and is the best of all those who are proficient in Dhanurveda."¹⁵⁷³ "He has mastered the use of all kinds of missiles and weapons that are known to Suras, Asuras and men. He has acquired all learning and knows the Vedas along with their Angas. He is profoundly proficient in music."¹⁵⁷⁴ He is also well-versed in Nitiśāstra¹⁵⁷⁵ and in all the śāstras.¹⁵⁷⁶ Reference to military

¹⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 12th sarga.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 8th sarga.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 21st sarga.

¹⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 27th and 28th sargas.

¹⁵⁷³ Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., Yuddhakāṇḍa, 32nd sarga.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 12th sarga.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., 22nd sarga.

¹⁵⁷² Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 2nd sarga.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 18th and 106th sargas.

tournaments where Rāma used to play with other warriors for testing his military skill is also to be found.¹⁵⁷⁷

Lakṣmaṇa was also well-versed in all the śāstras¹⁵⁷⁸ and in Nīti and in the art of warfare.¹⁵⁷⁹ He can throw 500 arrows by bending the bow once.¹⁵⁸⁰ His wielding of arms was extraordinary and without any defect and in the use of arms he displayed fastness, variety and beautiful skill.¹⁵⁸¹

Bharata was also well-versed in the three Vedas, Vārttā (Economics) and in Polity (Daṇḍanīti).¹⁵⁸²

Yuvarāja Angada of Kiṣkiṇḍhyā was well-versed in sāmā, dāna, bheda and nigraha and in the eight angas of knowledge (viz., śuśrūṣā, śrahaṇa, grahaṇa, dhāraṇa, tarka, bitarka and arthatatvajñāna). He was more skilled in warfare than Bālī.¹⁵⁸³

Rāvaṇa's son Indrajit was also skilled in the art of warfare.¹⁵⁸⁴ He was well-versed in the use of all heavenly weapons¹⁵⁸⁵ and any one in the three worlds who is not aware of his military prowess and skill in arms is infamous.¹⁵⁸⁶ Indeed like Lakṣmaṇa his wielding of arms was extraordinary and without any defect and in the use of arms he displayed fastness, variety and beautiful skill.¹⁵⁸⁷

Prince Akṣa, another son of Rāvaṇa, was also skilled in the art of warfare and was highly proficient in aiming and throwing arrows and in hitting the mark.¹⁵⁸⁸

"Prince Atikāya, another son of Rāvaṇa, was well-versed in all the śāstras. He was an expert in riding on horses and elephants, in the use of swords, bows and arrows. He was proficient in sāmā, dāna, sandhi and bigraha and the whole city of Laṅkā is without any fear owing to the prowess of his arms."¹⁵⁸⁹

¹⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 30th sarga.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., Uttarakāṇḍa, 58th sarga.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., Yuddhakāṇḍa, 29th and 88th sargas.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 88th sarga.

¹⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 49th sarga.

¹⁵⁸² Ibid., Kiṣkiṇḍhyākāṇḍa, 55th sarga.

¹⁵⁸³ Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 100th sarga.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 48th sarga.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., Yuddhakāṇḍa, 88th sarga.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., Yuddhakāṇḍa, 88th sarga.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., Yuddhakāṇḍa, 70th sarga.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 47th sarga.

About the education of Kuśa and Laba, the twin sons of king Rāma we are told thus:—"Maharṣi Vālmiki finding Kuśa and Laba who were talented, well-versed in Dharma, endowed with sweet voice and able to comprehend the meaning of kābya began to teach them the Vedas and the whole Epic Rāmāyaṇa They have completely mastered the art of music and sthāna and mūrchanā-tatva."¹⁵⁹⁰ In the Uttarakāṇḍa 94th sarga we find Vālmiki saying to Kuśa and Laba: "Sing every day 24 sargas full of ślokas in the manner I have shown you before..... If Rāma be pleased to ask you whose sons you are, say that you are the students of Vālmiki.) In the Raghuvamśam we are told that Vālmiki taught Kuśa and Laba the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas,¹⁵⁹¹ as also the art of singing.¹⁵⁹²

Rājarsī Daśaratha was well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas.¹⁵⁹³ The contemporary king of Magadha was also well-versed in all the śāstras.¹⁵⁹⁴

Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā (Ceylon) also observed the vow of celibacy as a student, resided in the house of his teacher and after finishing his Vedic education, performed the ceremonial bath and leaving the house of his guru became a householder.¹⁵⁹⁵ He has thus seen the end of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas.¹⁵⁹⁶

We also find Hanumāna, the minister of Sugrīva well-versed in the Vedas, the śāstras, nīti, grammar and the art of war. "Rāma after his first talk with him thus speaks of him to Lakṣmaṇa: 'One who has not mastered Ṛk, Yajur and Sāma Vedas cannot talk in this way. He must have heard the whole of Vyākaraṇa many times, for, he talked a great deal but no apaśabda fell from his lips..... He did not fail to utter every word in its proper place and made me understand the theme of his talk by uttering words which carried comprehension into my mind.'¹⁵⁹⁷ His power of elocution is also referred to elsewhere.¹⁵⁹⁸

¹⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 4th sarga.

¹⁵⁹² XV. 69.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., 19th sarga.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., Yuddhakāṇḍa, 92nd sarga.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., Kiṣkīṇḍhyakāṇḍa, 3rd sarga.

¹⁵⁹¹ XV. 33.

¹⁵⁹³ Ibid., 6th sarga.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., 110th sarga.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., 55th sarga.

He was well-versed in the art of warfare¹⁵⁹⁹ and in all the śāstras¹⁶⁰⁰ "In this earth nobody can surpass Hanumāna in valour, enthusiasm, intelligence, prowess, good conduct and knowledge of Niti, gravity, cleverness and fortitude. When this hero of extraordinary strength reads grammar, he with a view to understand the meaning of the grammatical text, takes the book in hand and facing the Sun moves from Udayagiri to Astāchala. He is exceptionally proficient in Sūtra, Bṛtti, Arthapada, Mahāvāṣya and Saṃgraha. He stands unrivalled in scholarship and in ability to find out the profound truths of the Vedas. He has seen the end of all the śāstras. He has surpassed even Bṛhaspati, the guru of the Suras in learning and in tapobidhāna".¹⁶⁰¹

In the Ādi Parva¹⁶⁰² of the Mahābhārata we get the following account of the education of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas: "Mahātmā Bhīṣma expressed the desire to entrust the proper training in good conduct and education of his grandsons in the hands of an intelligent teacher well-versed in various śāstras. He then brought to his palace the Vedic scholar Droṇāchārya, son of Varadwāja and after according fitting reception, put him in charge of the education of his grandsons. Satisfied with the solicitude of Bhīṣma for the proper education of the princes he accepted them as his disciples; and with very great care and attention began to teach them with a special emphasis on Dhanurveda. The pupils were all intelligent and within a short time they became proficient in all the śāstras and endowed with unbounded valour". "Duryodhana and Bhīma who were prone to anger, both practised mace-fighting under Droṇa's instructions.....Nakula and Sahadeva became expert swordsmen. Dharmarāja Yudhiṣṭhir became a first class charioteer.....and of all the royal pupils Arjuna alone became an unrivalled bowman".¹⁶⁰³ Droṇa himself tested their military skill¹⁶⁰⁴ and then with the permission of Dhṛtarāṣṭra arranged for a military tournament where the princes gave a public demonstration

¹⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., Sundarakāṇḍa, 47th sarga.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., Kiṣkīṇḍhyākāṇḍa, 55th sarga and Yuddhakāṇḍa, 17th sarga.

¹⁶⁰¹ Ibid., Uttarakāṇḍa, 36th sarga.

¹⁶⁰² 130th adhyāya.

¹⁶⁰³ Ibid., 132nd adhyāya.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., 132nd and 133rd adhyāyas.

of their military skill.¹⁶⁰⁵ It is interesting to find that Droṇa, the tutor of the princes was a Brahmin. The purpose of the author may have been to exalt the dignity of the brāhmaṇa caste by showing how the kṣatriyas learnt even military skill from the brāhmaṇas. But we can point out that it is distinctly stated in the Mahābhārata that Droṇa accepted the employment to have his vengeance on king Drupad who taunted him for his poverty.¹⁶⁰⁶

The Pāṇḍavas studied all the Vedas and the various śāstras.¹⁶⁰⁷ Of them Yudhiṣṭhir was versed in the Vedas and the science of war and highly skilled in driving horses and chariots.¹⁶⁰⁸ Nakula was an expert in fighting with swords¹⁶⁰⁹ while Arjuna was not only an unrivalled bowman¹⁶¹⁰ but was also versed in Dharmārthatatwa and Arthaśāstra.¹⁶¹¹

The upanayana ceremony of the sons of the Pāṇḍavas was performed by Mahārṣi Dhaumya and after finishing the study of the Vedas they learnt Dhanurveda and the use of all the weapons from Arjuna.¹⁶¹²

The brothers of Draupadi had a Brahmin resident-tutor appointed by their royal father, who taught them Bṛhaspati-nīti.¹⁶¹³

Bhīṣma was proficient in the use of all kinds of astras¹⁶¹⁴ and śāstras,¹⁶¹⁵ an unrivalled bowman and was equal to Indra as a warrior.¹⁶¹⁶ From Vaśiṣṭha he had learnt all the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas.¹⁶¹⁷ He has got by heart all the śāstras which Śukrāchārya has read.¹⁶¹⁸ He has mastered all the śāstras¹⁶¹⁹ and knows the true import of Dharma.¹⁶²⁰

¹⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., 134th—137th adhyāyas.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 137th adhyāya; also 133rd, 138th and 166th adhyāyas.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., Anukramapikādhya.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., Śāntiparba, 166th adhyāya.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., Śāntiparba, 167th adhyāya.

¹⁶¹⁰ Ibid., Banaparba, 32nd adhyāya.

¹⁶¹¹ Ibid., 67th adhyāya.

¹⁶¹² Ibid., 100th and 103rd adhyāyas.

¹⁶¹³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., Udyogaparba, 28th adhyāya.

¹⁶¹⁰ Ibid., Ādiparba, 132nd adhyāya.

¹⁶¹¹ Ibid., Ādiparba, 221st adhyāya.

¹⁶¹⁴ Ibid., Ādiparba 100th adhyāya.

¹⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 100th adhyāya.

¹⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 100th adhyāya.

¹⁶²⁰ Ibid., 103rd adhyāya.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra was proficient in many śāstras¹⁶²¹ while Bidur was versed in all the śāstras.¹⁶²² In the Ādiparba¹⁶²³ we are told that 'Bhīṣma had Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Bidur taught by a competent tutor and made them experts in physical culture. When these princes came of age they became versed in Dhanurveda, mace-fighting, swordsmanship, gajaśikṣā, nītiśāstra, itihāsa, Purāṇas, Vedāṅgas etc. Of them Pāṇḍu became an unrivalled bowman, Dhṛtarāṣṭra became famous for his physical strength and Bidur for his piety'.

The king of the Kekayas was proficient in Vedic learning¹⁶²⁴ while Yayāti studied all the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas.¹⁶²⁵ Ambariṣa studied the Vedas and Rājanīti.¹⁶²⁶

The Mahābhārata¹⁶²⁷ also refers to a king of the Andhaka family and other princes as pupils of Droṇa who taught them military science.

The Śākya prince Gautama was taught the three R's under a teacher named Viśvāmitra whom according to tradition, he confounds by his knowledge already possessed of various styles of writing. He is next taught by eight other brāhmaṇa teachers viz., "Rāma and Dhaja, Lakṣmaṇa and Manti, Yañña and Suyāma, Subhoga and Sudatta" and also the brāhmaṇa Sabbamitta of high lineage in the land of Udichcha, a philologist and grammarian, well-read in the six Vedāṅgas, whom Śuddhodhana sent for and handed over the boy to his charge to be taught".¹⁶²⁸ From the Antagada Dasao¹⁶²⁹ we learn that when Goyame was past eight years he was sent to a teacher of the arts on an auspicious day. He learnt from him the eighteen vernaculars, delighted in song, music and dance, was able to fight on horse, elephant and chariot and became clever in boxing and night-sallying (nagara-vaccham). Indeed he was not inattentive to physical culture. The legends represent him as skilled in the twelve arts and especially in archery, like Arjuna of old and he proved his superiority to all Śākya youths in open challenge.

¹⁶²¹ Ibid., Udyogaparba, 29th adhyāya.

¹⁶²² 109th adhyāya.

¹⁶²³ Ibid., Ādiparba, 81st adhyāya.

¹⁶²⁷ Ādiparba, 132nd adhyāya.

¹⁶²⁹ Barnett's Antagada Dasao, p. 81.

¹⁶²² Ibid., Ādiparba 206th adhyāya.

¹⁶²⁴ Ibid., Śāntiparba, 17th adhyāya.

¹⁶²⁵ Ibid., Śāntiparba, 98th adhyāya.

¹⁶²⁶ Milindā-Paṭha, IV. 6, 3.

As in the story of Arjuna, the price of his victory was the hand of Yaśodharā, daughter of his cousin, Suprabuddha, to whom he was married at sixteen. One of the beaten youths was another cousin of his, Devadatta, who could never forget this discomfiture and grew up to be the chief enemy of the Buddha in the world.

From the Jaina sūtras¹⁶³⁰ we learn that Mahābīra was proficient in the eighteen scripts corresponding to the eighteen vernacular tongues.

In conformity with the later injunction of Manu¹⁶³¹ to the effect that the king should learn "from the people the trades and the professions"¹⁶³² we find that the practice of a craft was not considered derogatory to the dignity of a prince. The Kuśa Jātaka,¹⁶³³ for instance, mentions a prince who only consents to marry when a princess is found exactly like a golden image which he himself had fashioned and which was far superior to that made by the chief smith employed for the purpose. From the Mahāvamśa we find that king Jetthatissa of Ceylon was a "skilful carver and painter who wrought a beautiful image of the Bodhisatwa and also a throne, a parasol, and a state-room with beautiful work in ivory made for it and who himself taught the arts to his subjects". In the story of Jīvaka we are told that even in royal families idlers were not tolerated and that it was not easy to eke out one's living without the knowledge of some art. In the Hātigumpha Inscription of Khāravēla we read of a prince who claims to have been proficient in lekḥā, gaṇanā and rūpa. In Bāṇa's Harṣacharita¹⁶³⁴ it is stated how on the occasion of the marriage of a princess "even kings girt up their loins and busied themselves in carrying out decorative work set as tasks by their sovereign. In Jātaka (IV. 84) we are told of a prince who took to trade. According to Kalhaṇa,¹⁶³⁵ Lothana, a prince of the Lohara family maintained himself by agriculture, trade and other means.

¹⁶³⁰ Samavāya Sūtra p. 54; Nandi Sūtra pp. 376ff.

¹⁶³¹ VII. 43.

¹⁶³² Vārtāramavāccha lokataḥ.

¹⁶³³ Jātaka No. 531.

¹⁶³⁴ Eng. Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, p. 124.

¹⁶³⁵ Rājatarāṅgiṇī VIII. 2482.

Coming to the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras we find that according to Gautama¹⁶³⁶ the king shall be fully taught the three-fold sacred science and Ānvikṣikī.¹⁶³⁷ In another passage Gautama¹⁶³⁸ says: "The administration of justice shall be by the Veda, the Dharmaśāstra,¹⁶³⁹ the Angas and the Purāṇa"; so that it may be presumed that the princes were expected to be acquainted with these also during their student-life. That the princes used to have their initiation which marked the beginning of their student-life is evident from Manu.¹⁶⁴⁰ "After his initiation" says Manu,¹⁶⁴¹ "let him learn from those well-versed in the three Vedas, the three-fold sacred science, the eternal principle of punishment, the science of reasoning, the science of self-knowledge and from the people the principles of trade, agriculture and cattle-rearing and the science of wealth".¹⁶⁴² In another passage Manu¹⁶⁴³ says: "Each day conformably to the rules of the śāstras and usages of the country, he (the king) shall severally adjudicate the eighteen sources of law-suits"; so that it may be presumed that the king was expected to be acquainted with these in his student-life. Manu¹⁶⁴⁴ enjoins the prince, however, to refrain from singing, dancing and music, for, by addicting to them he becomes dissociated with virtue and wealth. According to Yājñabalkya Samhitā¹⁶⁴⁵ the king should be well-versed in Logic, Polity and Vārttā (the principles of trade, agriculture, cattle-rearing and interest) and Trayī (the triple Vedas). According to Hārīta Samhitā¹⁶⁴⁶ the king should be proficient in the laws of Polity and well-versed in the true spirit of making peace and dissensions.

¹⁶³⁶ XI. 1.

¹⁶³⁷ Dr. Buhler seems to have wrongly translated, the word as logic in S. B. E., Vol. II; for, according to Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans.), p. 6) it comprises the philosophy of Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Lokayāta (atheism.)

¹⁶³⁸ XI. 19.

¹⁶³⁹ Dr. Buhler considers this word as probably an interpolation, for, it was then included in the Angas as Kalpa.

¹⁶⁴⁰ VII. 2.

¹⁶⁴¹ VII. 43.

¹⁶⁴² The same verse also exists in the Matsya Purāṇa 215. 53 and in the Agni Purāṇa 225. 21-22; see also Gautama Dharmasūtra, XX. 3.

¹⁶⁴³ VII. 3.

¹⁶⁴⁴ VII. 46-47.

¹⁶⁴⁵ I. 311.

¹⁶⁴⁶ II. 4.

In the age represented by Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* there seems to have been a considerable development of royal education. The number of authorities whose different opinions Kautilya quotes in his *Arthaśāstra* and sometimes refutes while discussing the educational programme for princes shows among other things that there was considerable interest as to what was the best kind of education for a young prince to receive. It is not impossible that this development of royal education may have been the result of the desire of some Indian rulers to improve the efficiency of their kingdoms in view of the possibilities of foreign invasions like those of Darius (521 B. C.) and Alexander the Great (327 B. C.). But whether this was so or not, it seems certain that a considerable development of royal education took place in the age of Kautilya and we get a valuable picture of this education in his *Arthaśāstra*.

In Bk. I. Ch. XVII. of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*,¹⁸⁴⁷ entitled 'Protection of Princes' we are told :—

"Ever since the birth of princes, the king shall take special care of them.

"For" says Bharadvāja, "princes like crabs have a notorious tendency of eating up their begetter. When they are wanting in filial affection, they shall better be punished in secret."

"This is" says Viśālākṣa, "cruelty, destruction of fortune and extirpation of the seed of the race of kṣatriyas. Hence it is better to keep them under guard in a definite place."

"This" says the school of Parāśara, "is akin to the fear from a lurking snake, for, a prince may think that apprehensive of danger, his father has locked him up and may attempt to put his own father on his lap. Hence it is better to keep a prince under the custody of boundary guards or inside a fort."

"This" says Piśuṇa, "is akin to the fear (from a wolf) of a flock of sheep; for, after understanding the cause of his rustication, he may avail

¹⁸⁴⁷ R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans., pp. 37-40.

himself of the opportunity to make an alliance with the boundary guards (against his father). Hence it is better to throw him inside a fort belonging to a foreign king far away from his own state."

"This" says Kaṇṇapadanta, "is akin to the position of a calf; for, just as a man milks a cow with the help of her calf, so the foreign king may milk (reduce) the prince's father. Hence it is better to make a prince live with his maternal relations."

"This" says Vāṭavyādhi, "is akin to the position of a flag; for, as in the case of Aditi and Kauśika, the prince's maternal relations may, unfurling this flag, go on begging. Hence princes may be suffered to dissipate their lives by sensual excesses in as much as revelling sons do not dislike their indulgent father."

"This" says Kautilya, "is death in life; for no sooner is a royal family with a prince or princes given to dissipation attacked, than it perishes like a worm-eaten piece of wood. Hence when the queen attains the age favourable for procreation, priests shall offer to Indra and Brhaspati the requisite oblations. When she is big with a child, the king shall observe the instructions of midwifery with regard to gestation and delivery. After delivery, the priests shall perform the prescribed purificatory ceremonials. When the prince attains the necessary age, *adepts shall train him up under proper discipline.*"

"There can be" says Kautilya, "no greater crime or sin than making wicked impressions on an innocent mind..... Hence he shall be *taught only of righteousness and of wealth (artha)* but not of unrighteousness and non-wealth..... When under the temptation of youth, he turns his eye towards women, impure women under the guise of Āryas shall, at night and in lonely places, terrify him; when fond of liquor, he shall be terrified by making him drink such liquor as is adulterated with narcotic (Yogapāna); when fond of gambling, he shall be terrified by spies under the disguise of fraudulent persons; when fond of hunting, he shall be terrified by spies under the disguise of highway robbers; and when desirous of attacking his own father, he shall, under the pretence of compliance, be gradually persuaded of the evil consequences of such attempts."

Kautilya further says : " Sons are of three kinds : those of sharp intelligence : those of stagnant intelligence ; and those of perverted mind. " Whoever carries into practice whatever he is *taught* concerning righteousness and wealth is one of sharp intelligence ; whoever never carries into practice the good instructions he has been *taught* is one of stagnant intelligence ; and whoever entangles himself in dangers and hates righteousness and wealth is one of perverted mind..... Never shall a wicked and an only son (of the last type) be installed on the throne."

From the above it is evident what a great emphasis Kautilya laid on the proper education of a prince. In another passage¹⁶⁴⁸ we are told : " The king who is *well-educated and disciplined in sciences*, devoted to good government of his subjects and bent on doing good to all people will enjoy the earth unopposed." Again, according to Kautilya the king should possess among other qualities, " sharp intellect, strong memory, keen mind, *training in all kinds of arts*, cleverness to discern the causes necessitating cessation of treaty or war with an enemy or to lie in wait keeping treaties, obligations and pledges or to avail himself of the enemy's weak points and to observe custom as *taught* by aged persons."¹⁶⁴⁹

Coming to Kautilya's curriculum for the education of the prince we find that it included four sciences : Ānvikṣiki, Trayī, Vārttā and Daṇḍaniti.¹⁶⁵⁰ We have already seen that according to Kautilya " he (the prince) shall be taught only of righteousness and wealth "¹⁶⁵¹ and he expressly says that " these can be learnt only from the four sciences."¹⁶⁵² It appears, however, that the authorities are not agreed as to the number of sciences to be taught, for, we are told :—¹⁶⁵³

" The school of Manu hold that there are only three sciences : the triple Vedas, Vārttā and the science of government, in as much as the science of Ānvikṣiki is nothing but a special branch of the Vedas.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

¹⁶⁵² Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 319.

¹⁶⁵¹ Ibid., p. 38.

¹⁶⁵³ Ibid.,

"The school of Bṛhaspati say that there are only two sciences: Vārttā and the science of government, in as much as the triple Vedas are merely an abridgment for a man experienced in affairs temporal.

"The school of Uśanā declare that there is only one science and that the science of government; for, they say, it is in that science that all other sciences have their origin and end."

"But Kautilya holds that four and four only are the sciences; wherefore it is from these sciences that all that concerns righteousness and wealth is learnt, therefore they are so called."

But although Kautilya prescribes four sciences for the prince, he admits the supreme importance of Daṇḍanīti as a subject for royal education. For says he:—

"The first three sciences (out of the four) are dependent for their well-being on the science of government."¹⁶⁵⁴

"The sceptre on which the well-being and progress of the sciences of Ānvikṣiki, the triple Vedas and Vārttā depend is known as Daṇḍa. That which treats of Daṇḍa is the science of government, Daṇḍanīti."¹⁶⁵⁵

"A king of unrighteous character and vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall an easy prey either to the fury of his own subjects or to that of his enemies. But a wise king, *trained in politics*, will, though he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best-fitted elements of sovereignty and will never be defeated."¹⁶⁵⁶

"Whoever, *well-versed in polity*, thus acquires friends, wealth and territory with or without population will overreach other kings in combination against him."¹⁶⁵⁷

"Even if the king is held by the chiefs under their influence, the minister may, through the medium of king's favourites *teach him the principles of polity* with illustrations from the Itihāsa and Purāṇa."¹⁶⁵⁸

¹⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 321.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 318.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 365.

The Nīṭisāra of Kāmandaka has a description of a tree of Polity of which the four vidyās have been called the four roots. Says he: "He is indeed a real politician who knows the tree with eight branches, four roots, sixty leaves, two props, six flowers and three fruits."¹⁶⁵⁹ Similarly, in the Yuktikalpataru the different vidyās have been compared to the branches and flowers of a tree. In the beginning of the work, the reason why it has been called a tree has been thus explained: "The root of this tree is Daṇḍanīti (Polity), the stem is Jyotiṣa, the various Vidyās are its branches and flowers, its fruits are unknown and its sap is nectar to the good (i. e., promotes their welfare)."¹⁶⁶⁰

But Kautilya rightly observes: "Daṇḍa (punishment) which alone can procure safety and security of life is, in its turn, dependent on discipline."¹⁶⁶¹ "Hence the king shall keep up his personal discipline by receiving lessons in sciences."¹⁶⁶² Now "discipline is of two kinds: artificial and natural; for instruction can render only a docile being conformable to the rules of discipline and not an undocile being."¹⁶⁶³

¹⁶⁵⁹ Kāmandakiya, Nīṭisāra VIII. 42.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Yuktikalpataru, slokas 6-7.

¹⁶⁶¹ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 10. ¹⁶⁶² Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁶⁶³ Kriyā hi drabyam binayati nādrabyam—Arthaśāstrā Bk. I. Ch. V.

In Bhababhūti's Uttara-Rāma-charita Ātreya says: "Now with these two boys possessed of exceedingly brilliant power of comprehension and retentiveness as they are, students like us cannot keep pace in the studies. For, the preceptor imparts unto the clever, instructions just the same as unto the dull and in no wise doth he their power of comprehension either make or thwart; and yet there does result a vast difference as to the outcome; for we know that only a pure crystal is able to take in images and not a mere lump of clay." (Uttara-Rāma-chārīta—Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., p. 32).

Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśam speaks in the same strain: "Nisarga-saṃskārabinītaḥ; swāyābhikam binitatvaṃ teṣāṃ; māmurṣu śabajaṃ tejo habiṣeba habibhujam".

In Bāṇa's Kādambarī Śukanāsa says to Chandrapīḍa: "Men such as thou art, are the fitting vessels for instruction. For, on a mind free from stain the virtue of good counsel enters easily, as the moon's rays on a moon crystal. The words of a guru, though pure, yet cause great pain when they enter the ears of the bad as water does; while in others they produce a nobler beauty, like the ear-jewel on an elephant" (Kādambarī—C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., pp. 76-77).

The study of sciences can tame only those who are possessed of such mental faculties as obedience, hearing, grasping, retentive memory, discrimination, inference and deliberation but not others devoid of such faculties."¹⁶⁶⁴ It follows from the above that for those who have not this natural discipline, there is the artificial discipline of punishment.

"Sciences" he continues:¹⁶⁶⁵ "should be studied and their precepts strictly observed under the authority of specialist teachers. Having undergone the ceremony of tonsure, the student shall learn the alphabet (lipi) and arithmetic. After investiture with the sacred thread¹⁶⁶⁶ he shall study the Triple Vedas, the science of Ānvīkṣikī under teachers of acknowledged authority (siṣṭa), the science of Vārttā under government superintendents and the science of Daṇḍanīti under theoretical and practical politicians."¹⁶⁶⁷

With regard to the length of the course we are told: "The Prince should observe celibacy till he becomes sixteen years old. Then he shall observe the ceremony of tonsure (godāna) and marry." If the investiture with the sacred thread took place in accordance with the regulations laid down in the Dharmasūtras in the eleventh year after conception the course would thus last six years. But we know that to learn one Veda twelve years were prescribed for the brahmachārin by the Dharmasūtras. It thus seems that the study of Vārttā and Daṇḍanīti may have been continued even after marriage. For, while dealing with the life of a saintly king Kautilya says that among other things the king should "acquire wisdom by keeping company with the aged and keep up his personal discipline by receiving lessons in the sciences."¹⁶⁶⁸ Again, while dealing with the duties of a king Kautilya says: "He shall divide both day and night into eight nālikas (1½ hrs.)during the second (one-eighth) part of the day he shall not

¹⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., 10.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Compare the custom in ancient Persia where according to Alcibiades the princes were given over to royal tutors only at fifteen.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra Bk. I. Ch. II, refers to Arthachīntakāḥ (Professors of Arthasāstra).

¹⁶⁶⁸ Arthasāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 13.

only bathe and dine but also *study* During the second (one eighth) part of the night he shall attend to bathing and supper and *study*..... During the sixth (one eighth) part of the night he shall recall to his mind the injunctions of sciences."¹⁶⁶⁹ From the *Māhābhārata*¹⁶⁷⁰ we learn that King Janadeva of Mithilā had in his palace one hundred āchāryas who used to teach him the duties of the men living in the different āśramas (stages) of life. We similarly find that kings Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Yudhiṣṭhira were regularly taught by Bhīṣma and Bidur respectively.¹⁶⁷¹ Even in the course of their flight to the forest from the city of Baranabata the Pāṇḍavas used to read the Upaniṣads, the Vedāṅgas and Nītiśāstra.¹⁶⁷² Śukrāchārya also while dealing with the daily routine of the king says that the king should take two muhūrtas (i. e., 96 minutes) for prayers, *study* and charity¹⁶⁷³ and another muhūrta for observing (i. e., *studying*) old and new things.¹⁶⁷⁴ Yājñabalkya¹⁶⁷⁵ also enjoins the king to *study* the Vedas after taking his evening meal.

Some further particulars with regard to Kautilya's scheme of education are forthcoming. "For acquiring efficiency in the skill of shooting arrows at moving objects, he shall engage himself in sports only in such forests as are cleared by hunters and houndkeepers from the fear of highway robbers, snakes and enemies."¹⁶⁷⁶

During the period of study the young prince was to be placed under the strict supervision of his teachers. "In view of maintaining efficient discipline, he shall ever and invariably keep company with aged professors of sciences in whom alone discipline has its firm root."¹⁶⁷⁷

The hours of study were thus planned out. "He shall spend the forenoon in receiving lessons in military arts concerning elephants, horses,

¹⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., Bk. I. Ch. XIX.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Śāntiparba, 218th adhyāya.

¹⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 227th adhyāya and Anuśāsanaparba.

¹⁶⁷² Ādiparba, 156th adhyāya.

¹⁶⁷³ Śukranītiśāra, Ch. I. line 558.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., line 564.

¹⁶⁷⁵ I. 330.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans.), pp. 49-50.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

chariots and weapons and the afternoon in hearing Itihāsa..... During the rest of the day and night, he shall not only receive new lessons and revise old ones but also hear over and again what has not been clearly understood".¹⁶⁷⁸

The above outline of royal education gives greater importance to practical wisdom than to theoretical philosophy and religious instruction. Kautilya has included the study of the three Vedas in the curriculum of royal studies but in later details it is curious to find no reference to their study. Moreover, the injunction referred to above that the science of Vārttā is to be studied under Government superintendents and the science of Daṇḍanīti under theoretical and practical politicians shows that these two subjects were learnt in very close contact with their practice in actual life. We have also seen that in the opinion of Kautilya, of the three kinds of princes, *whoever carries into practice whatever he is taught* concerning righteousness and wealth is the best.¹⁶⁷⁹

That a thorough grasp of the subject was the objective is evident from the following: "He (the prince) shall not only.....revise old lessons but also hear over and over again what has not been *clearly understood*. For, from hearing (sūtra) ensues knowledge, from knowledge steady application (yoga) is possible; and from application self-possession (ātmavattā) is possible. This is what is meant by efficiency of learning (vidyāsāmarthyam).¹⁶⁸⁰

Kāmandaka in his Nitisāra is equally emphatic on the education of the prince. Says he: "The King for the sake of attaining progress should train up his sons with proper education (śikṣā); for, uneducated princes bring ruin on the family".¹⁶⁸¹ He further says: "If the king be trained up by proper education (vidyā) then he is never depressed by dangers and difficulties".¹⁶⁸² Again: "The king who daily receives a proper training in the 64 kalās like dancing, singing, music etc., daily improves his position like the Moon

¹⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁶⁸² Ibid., 1st sarga, śl. 59.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁶⁸¹ Kāmandakīya Nitisara, 7th sarga, śl. 5.

in the lunar fortnight".¹⁶⁸³ His scheme of royal education as outlined in sarga two of his Nitisāra is almost wholly copied from that of Kautilya. It thus includes the study by the prince of Ānvikṣiki, the Trayī, Vārttā and Daṇḍanīti.¹⁶⁸⁴ According to him the king should also be proficient in the śāstras and in Vyabahāra¹⁶⁸⁵ as also in the 64 kalās.¹⁶⁸⁶

Śukrāchārya has also drawn up in his Nitisāra a syllabus of intellectual training for princes. Says he: "Association with the guru is for the acquisition of śāstras, the śāstras are calculated to increase knowledge: the king who is trained up in the branches of learning is respected by the good and does not incline to wrong deeds even if impelled by evil motives".¹⁶⁸⁷ "Ānvikṣiki, the Trayī, Vārttā and Daṇḍanīti—these four branches of learning the king should always study. The science of discussion and Vedānta are founded on the science of Ānvikṣiki; virtue and vice, as well as interests and injuries of man are based on the Trayī; wealth and its opposite on Vārttā; good and bad government on Daṇḍanīti. Thus all the castes of men and the stages of human life are built upon these sciences. The six Angas, the four Vedas, Mimāṃsā (system of philosophy), Nyāya (system of philosophy), Dharmaśāstras as well as the Purāṇas—all these constitute the Trayī. In Vārttā are treated interest, agriculture, commerce and preservation of cows. The man who is well up in Vārttā need not be anxious for earning. Daṇḍa is restraint and punishment, thence the king is also known to be Daṇḍa. The Niti that regulates punishment constitutes Daṇḍanīti, so called because it governs and guides. Man gives up both pleasure and pain through Ānvikṣiki and the science of Self (metaphysics) and gets both temporal and spiritual self-realisation through the Trayī".¹⁶⁸⁸

Śukrāchārya, however, lays the greatest stress on the study of Nitiśāstra by the prince. Says he: "As Nitiśāstra is considered to be the spring of virtue, wealth, enjoyment and salvation, the ruler should ever carefully *peruse* it; by *knowing* it, rulers can be victorious

¹⁶⁸³ Ibid., śl. 61.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 6th sarga, śl. 1.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Śukranītisāra, Ch. I. lines 295-97.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 2nd sarga, śl. 1.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Ibid., 1st sarga, śl. 61.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., lines 303-16.

over foes, affectionate and conciliatory towards subjects and 'well up in the arts of state-craft'.¹⁶⁸⁹ "Nitiśāstra conduces to the desires and interests of all and hence is respected and followed by all. It is also indispensable to the prince since he is the lord of all men and things. Just as in the case of the sick persons who take unprescribed food (apathya), the diseases come immediately and do not delay in manifesting themselves, so also in the case of the princes who are *unschooled* in the principles of Nitiśāstra, the enemies make their appearance at once and do not delay in declaring themselves. The two primary functions of the king are the protection of subjects and constant punishment of offenders; these two cannot be achieved without Nitiśāstra".¹⁶⁹⁰ "The king who always *studies* the abridged text of Śukra becomes competent to bear the burden of state-affairs".¹⁶⁹¹

Śukra also includes *manly exercises and military training* in his scheme of education for the prince. Says he: "The king should always practise military parades with the troops and strike the objective by means of missiles at the stated hours".¹⁶⁹² "He should every morning and evening exercise himself with elephants, horses, chariots and other conveyances".¹⁶⁹³ This "exercise over elephants, horses and carriages" should be taken by the king at dawn and for one muhūrta (=45 minutes) only;¹⁶⁹⁴ for, "excessive walking.....and over-exercise soon bring about men's old age".¹⁶⁹⁵ "And he should learn as well as teach the military arrangements of soldiers".¹⁶⁹⁶ "He should sport with tigers, peacocks, birds and other animals of the forest and in the course of hunting kill the wild ones".¹⁶⁹⁷ Śukra explains his reasons for including manly exercises as an integral part of royal education thus: "The advantages of hunting are the growth of ability to strike the aim and agility in the use of arms and weapons but cruelty is the great defect".¹⁶⁹⁸

¹⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., lines 10-13.

¹⁶⁹¹ Ibid., Ch. IV. Sec. VII. lines 853-54.

¹⁶⁹² Ibid., lines 779-80.

¹⁶⁹³ Ibid. Ch. I. line 663.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., Ch. III. lines 603-04.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., lines 665-66.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., lines 23-28. Compare Ibid., lines 29-38; Ibid., lines 301-02; Ibid., Ch. IV. Sec. VII. lines 857-58.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., line 559.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Ibid., Ch. I. line 664.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., lines 667-69.

In another place Śukra says : "The king should make the children of his family well-up in Nitiśāstra, proficient in archery (Dhanurveda), capable of undertaking strains and of bearing harsh words and punishments, habituated to the feat of arms (Śauryavidyā), master of all arts and sciences, upright in morals as well as discipline through his ministers and councillors."¹⁶⁹⁹ Thus the course of instruction for the children of the royal household was at once physical, intellectual, moral, military as well as political. Moreover, the terms "Dhanurveda" and "Śauryavidyā" refer perhaps to the theoretical and applied branches of military education. The former indicates proficiency in the science of archery i. e., military tactics and implements generally, while the latter refers to actual field-work, parade, mock-fights, assaults-at-arms etc.,—practices that call forth martial enthusiasm and develop warlike aptitudes.

The curriculum of royal studies, according to Aśwaghōṣa comprised a number of subjects—the Veda, sacrifices, the performance of sacrifices; archery, the training of elephants, the domesticating of horses, the carrying of the lance, jumping, running, massage, fording a river, strategy, the rules of battle array; music, dancing, the art of playing on the tambourine, the art of playing on the conch, sculpture, painting; sewing, weaving, sealing, wax-work, the making of garlands of flowers, arrangement of garlands, examination of precious stones and valuable materials for clothing; grammar, literature, the origin of writing, eloquence, rhetoric; the study of origins, heredity and eugenics; astronomy, casting horoscopes of boys and girls, interpretation of dreams and of the flight of birds; computation, interest; the arts of love and laughter, conjuring tricks, chess, dice etc. This list agrees in the main with what we find in the Lalitavistāra and compares well with what we find described in the Jaina texts as the the curricula of studies of Mahābīra.

In the Milindā-Pañha we are told that "the business of the princes of the earth is to learn all about elephants, horses, chariots, rapiers and the documents and the law of property"¹⁷⁰⁰

¹⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., Ch. II. lines 43-46.

¹⁷⁰⁰ S. B. E., Vol. XXXV. p. 247.

The Matsya Purāṇa¹⁷⁰¹ says that "the king should have his prince instructed by learned teachers in Dharmaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Dhanurveda as also in the knowledge of elephants and chariots. He should regularly take physical exercises and learn the śilpas."

In the Bhāgavad Purāṇa¹⁷⁰² we read that the youthful Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma studied the Vedas with their Angas, Upaniṣads, Dhanurveda, Dharmaśāstra, Mīmāṃsā, Ānvikṣikī, Rājanīti and the sixty-four kalās.

It is to be presumed that as in the case of the ordinary twice-born student, the prince's training of the sciences and arts was based on a knowledge of the grammar of the Sanskrit language. The story contained in the Kathāsaritsāgara¹⁷⁰³ of the king who did not know Sanskrit grammar seems to show that some royal pupils did not always find it easy to master all its intricacies.

With regard to the text-books, those used by the ordinary twice-born students for Vedic study would serve also for the princes in so far as they studied the same subjects but there were two developments which arose to meet the needs of the special training required for them. We have already referred to the Arthaśāstra as a subject to be studied by the prince. Kāmandaka in his introduction to the Nitisāra also refers to the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya as a favourite learning of kings. Says he : "From the scientific work of that learned man who had reached the limits of knowledge, *the favourite learning of the kings*, brief yet intelligible and useful in the acquisition and maintenance of the earth, we are going to extract and *teach kings* in the manner acceptable to those learned in the science of Polity." Daṇḍi in his Daśakumārcharita¹⁷⁰⁴ says : "Learn then the science of Polity. Now this has been by the revered teacher Viṣṇugupta abridged into six thousand ślokas *in the interest of the Maurya (king)* that when learnt and well-observed, it can produce the results expected from it."

The scope of this subject (Arthaśāstra) has been thus laid down by Kautilya : "The means of subsistence of mankind is termed Artha.

¹⁷⁰¹ Ch. 220. 2-3; 24, 2-3.

¹⁷⁰³ Penzer, Vol. I. p. 71.

¹⁷⁰² X. 45. 25-27.

¹⁷⁰⁴ II. 8.

The earth which contains mankind is also termed Artha. The science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth is Arthaśāstra.¹⁷⁰⁵ From this it follows clearly that Arthaśāstra really treated of Artha in the sense of earth, and not in its primary sense of wealth which was the subject that properly pertained to the field of Vārttā. Kautilya's Arthaśāstra mentions the same fact in another place, for, it actually commences with the statement that it was composed by the author as a 'compendium of almost all the Arthaśāstras written by prior teachers for the *acquisition and maintenance of the earth*.'¹⁷⁰⁶ From this it follows that Arthaśāstra was really a very comprehensive science as its data were drawn from a wide variety of sources, for, any subject that had more or less intimate bearing upon the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth could not but naturally fall within its scope. Thus, Daṇḍanīti was the most important branch, in fact the fundamental basis, of Arthaśāstra, for, Daṇḍanīti "upon which the progress of the world depends"¹⁷⁰⁷ was of the utmost importance to princes in their efforts to acquire and maintain the earth. Vārttā also supplied no mean quota to the science, for, it was through Vārttā and Vārttā alone that two of the seven limbs of the state, viz., Kośa and Daṇḍa could be acquired. The Śukranīti recognises this double aspect of Arthaśāstra when it defines it as the science which describes the actions and administration of kings, as well as the means of livelihood in a proper manner.¹⁷⁰⁸ In fact, this double aspect of the Arthaśāstra has often given rise to a confusion of ideas and has led to its being designated sometimes as Polity and sometimes as Economics by writers at different times. Later on Arthaśāstra was divested of its economic topics and became simply the political science. In later Sanskrit literature this use is made of the word Arthaśāstra and the terms Nītiśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Daṇḍanīti and Rājānīti are used indiscriminately to represent the science of Polity.

Vārttā was another subject of royal study. The word is derived from the root 'vṛt' by the addition of the suffix 'n'. Thus Vārttā

¹⁷⁰⁵ Arthaśāstra, Bk. V. Ch. I.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., Bk. I. Ch. I.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Tasyāmāyattā lokayātrā—Bk. I. Ch. IV. ¹⁷⁰⁸ Bk. IV. Sec. III, lines 110-111.

etymologically represents *vṛtti* or means of livelihood. Along with the use of the term *Vārttā* as a collective name for occupations, it was also used as the designation of a division of learning, pertaining to knowledge relating to those occupations. According to Kautilya gain and loss of wealth¹⁷⁰⁹ are to be known from *Vārttā*. In *Śukranīti*¹⁷¹⁰ we are told that profit and loss of wealth are based on *Vārttā*. Kāmandaka in his *Nitisāra*¹⁷¹¹ merely repeats the words of his political guru about the nature of *Vārttā*. *Vārttā* was thus the branch of learning that had wealth for its subject of study. It at first included three subjects—agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade.¹⁷¹² Kāmandaka writes to the same effect.¹⁷¹³ *Vāya Purāṇa*¹⁷¹⁴ also says :

“Kṛṣibāñijyā tadbartu tṛtīyaṃ paśupālanam
Vidyāhyotā mahāvāga Vārttā vṛttiayāśāyāḥ”

In course of time *Vārttā* came to include usury as well. As Bhāgabadd *Purāṇa*¹⁷¹⁵ says :

“Kṛṣibāñijyagorakṣā kuṣīdaṃ turymuchyate
Vārttā chaturvidyā tatra bayam gobṛttayoniśm.”

*Śukranīti*¹⁷¹⁶ also says that in *Vārttā* are treated interest, agriculture, trade and preservation of cows. In the *Devīpurāṇa*¹⁷¹⁷ we find that even *Karmānta*, i. e., manufacture has been added to *Vārttā* while in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁷¹⁸ the various arts and crafts (*bibidhāni śilpāni*) were included in it.

Kautilya describes the merits of *Vārttā* as a subject of royal study in no uncertain words. Says he: “It is most useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce and free labour. It is by means

¹⁷⁰⁹ *Arthānarthan*.

¹⁷¹¹ II. 7; also *Agnipurāṇa* 238. 9.

¹⁷¹² *Kṛṣipāśāpālye bāñijyā cha vārttā*—*Arthasāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. IV.

¹⁷¹³ II. 14.

¹⁷¹⁴ X. 24. 21.

¹⁷¹⁷ 67. 13.

¹⁷¹⁰ Ch. I, lines 305—08.

¹⁷¹⁴ V. 10. 28.

¹⁷¹⁶ Ch. I, lines 311-12.

¹⁷¹⁸ XII. 167. 10-11.

of the treasury and the army obtained solely through Vārttā that the king can hold under his control both his and his enemy's party."¹⁷¹⁹

The study of Itihāsa by the prince included the study of Purāṇa, Itihṛtta, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharāṇa, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra.¹⁷²⁰ It is when we look at this comprehensive sense of Itihāsa that we can understand why products of imagination have been incorporated in history.¹⁷²¹ The Purāṇas resemble more than any other of these six branches, history (in the modern sense of the word). The five subjects that form the subject-matter of these Purāṇas may be regarded as their five characteristics. They are sarga, pratisarga, vaṃśa, vaṃśānucharita and manvantara. Under vaṃśa and vaṃśānucharita were recorded the names of kings, the periods for which they reigned and noteworthy events connected with the distinguished reigns. The nature of Udāharāṇa will be clear from two passages in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya¹⁷²² and Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra.¹⁷²³ It seems that Udāharāṇa embodies facts and not mere imagination. As regards the nature of Itihṛtta, probably it dealt at length with events.¹⁷²⁴ The mention of Itihṛtta of kings and ṛṣis as well as the sacred Purāṇa Saṃhitā embodying Dharma and Artha in the same verse supports the same view. Ākhyāyikā included moral fables and stories such as were collected (afterwards) in the Pañchatantra and the Hitopadeśa.

The Dharmaśāstras as a general rule contain groups of laws, religious and civil and about atonement (āchāra, byābahāra and prāyaścitta).

Ānvikṣikī—was another subject of royal study. According to Kautilya¹⁷²⁵ it comprised the philosophy of Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata. In Śukranitisāra¹⁷²⁶ we are told that the science of discussion and Vedānta are founded on Ānvikṣikī. According to Kautilya "the

¹⁷¹⁹ Arthaśāstra, Bk. I. Ch. IV.

¹⁷²⁰ Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmaśāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 11.

¹⁷²¹ Padma Purāṇa II, 85, 15; Vāyu Purāṇa 55, 2.

¹⁷²² Bk. I. Ch. VI; R. Śyāmaśāstrī's Eng. Trans., pp. 12-13.

¹⁷²³ Bk. I. Ch. II; K. Rangaswāmi Iyenger's Eng. Trans., p. 16.

¹⁷²⁴ Mahābhārata I. i. 16.

¹⁷²⁵ Bk. I. Ch. II.

¹⁷²⁶ Ch. I, lines 305-08.

science of Ānvikṣiki is most beneficial to the world, keeps the mind steady and firm in weal and woe alike and bestows excellence of foresight, speech and action. Light to all kinds of knowledge, easy means to accomplish all kinds of acts and receptacle of all kinds of virtues, is the science of Ānvikṣiki ever held to be".¹⁷²⁷

In course of time the four sciences of Trayī, Daṇḍanīti, Vārttā and Ānvikṣiki came to be known as Kulavidyās of princes. From Raghuvamśam¹⁷²⁸ we find that a king wed his sons first to the Kulavidyās (which the commentator explains as Trayī, Daṇḍanīti, Vārttā, and Ānvikṣiki) and then to princesses.

But the preceptors, finding perhaps that their royal pupils did not always take kindly to the effort studying the political wisdom of the Arthasāstra, devised the plan of using fables and stories as vehicles for teaching this science. The Pañchatantra existed in the first half of the sixth century A. D. but the Tantrākhyāyikā which is considered to be its most original and earliest form was composed many centuries earlier.¹⁷²⁹ It is introduced with the story of a certain king who had three particularly idle and stupid sons. He wished to find a teacher for them and at last met with a certain brāhmaṇa, who promised to give the young princes such instruction in six months that they would surpass all others in the knowledge of right conduct. For the accomplishment of his object he composed the Pañchatantra. The Hitopadeśa is a similar collection of fables much later than the Pañchatantra on which it is based. There are also other collections of fables like them, as for instance, the Kathāsaritsāgara. The Mahābhārata contains a great deal of didactic material embedded in the story and this may also have been used in the instruction of princes. For stories of heroes they had the epic poems like the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and at a later date the bardic chronicles (like Chānd-Rāisā) of Rājasthān written in the vernaculars.

¹⁷²⁷ Bk. I. Ch. II.

¹⁷²⁸ Canto XVII. 3.

¹⁷²⁹ J. R. A. S., 1910, pp. 966f. Dr. Hertel thinks that the Tantrākhyāyikā was composed between 300 B. C. and 570 A. D. and nearer the earlier limit. Dr. F. W. Thomas takes it to be as old as 300 A. D.

The education of the prince was in course of time made more individualistic than ever as is evident not only from Indian literature but also from inscriptions and coins. The *Milindā-Pañha*¹⁷³⁰ thus describes the attainments of Milindā (Menander the Great):—"Many were the arts and sciences he knew—holy tradition and secular law; the Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems of philosophy; arithmetic: music; medicine; the four Vedas; the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas; astronomy, magic, causation and spells; the art of war; poetry; conveyancing—in a word, the whole nineteen. As a disputant, he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness, and valour, there was found none equal to Milindā in all India." From the *Mṛcchakatika* we learn that Śūdraka was a scholar in *R̥gveda*, *Sāmaveda*, Mathematics, the arts regarding courtesans and the science of elephants.

Samudragupta was noted not more for his conquests than for his proficiency in the humanities of the times. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription describes how he was well-versed in the śāstras.¹⁷³¹ But his learning was not confined to the sacred lore alone. He was the prince of poets (*kavirāja*) whose various poetical compositions were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people¹⁷³² and gave him an empire of fame for his enjoyment.¹⁷³³ Altogether his sharp and polished intellect put to shame Kāśyapa, the preceptor of Indra.¹⁷³⁴ Besides poetry he also cultivated the sister arts of music. He "put to shame Nārada by his choral skill and musical accomplishment."¹⁷³⁵ The Lyrist type of his coins represent Samudragupta as playing on the lyre or lute (*viṇā*). He was no less proficient in the sterner arts of the warrior. He depicts himself as an archer on some of his coins which represent him as holding a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his

¹⁷³⁰ S. B. E., Vol. XXXV. pp. 6-7.

¹⁷³¹ Allahabad Pillar Inscription, line 5; śāstratātvarthabharttuh—Ibid., lines 15 and 30.

¹⁷³² Ibid., line 27.

¹⁷³³ *Kirtirājyaṃ bhavakti*—Ibid., line 6.

¹⁷³⁴ Ibid., line 27.

¹⁷³⁵ *Gāndhavya-lalitāḥ lalitaiḥ*—Ibid., line 27.

right with the head of the arrow resting on the ground. On other coins he stands out as the invincible hunter and takes the title Vyāghra-parākrama, of which the meaning is visible on the obverse, representing the king as trampling on a live tiger, which falls back as he shoots it. Wearing only waist cloth, turban and some jewellery he stands as the very picture of energy.

As to Harṣa Śilāditya, Bāṇa distinctly says that Harṣa was a poet. "In poetical contests he poured out a nectar of his own which he had not received from any foreign source;"¹⁷³⁶ "his poetical skill finds words fail;"¹⁷³⁷ "his knowledge cannot find range enough in doctrines to be learned;"¹⁷³⁸ "all the fine arts are too narrow a field for his genius."¹⁷³⁹ This might be the exaggerated estimate of a courtier composing the panegyric of his patron but we have some evidence in its support from an external source. I-Tsing¹⁷⁴⁰ says that Harṣa "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jimutabāhana (cloud-borne) who surrendered himself in place of a Nāga. Historians of Sanskrit Literature credit Harṣa with the authorship of two dramas, the Ratnāvalī and Priyadarśikā together with a grammatical work. That literary criticism in Ancient India at least, thought highly of Harṣa is evident from the fact that Jayadeva, the author of Gītagovindam names him along with Bhāsa and Kālidāsa as one of his illustrious predecessors."¹⁷⁴¹ Harṣa is also stated to have taken part in dramatic performances.¹⁷⁴² Moreover, Harṣa was a skilful calligraphist if it is his autograph which is seen in the Banskhera Plate Inscription, the last line of which consists of the sign-manual

¹⁷³⁶ Harṣacharita—Cowell and Thomas, p. 58.

¹⁷³⁷ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁷³⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 163.

¹⁷⁴¹ "Yasyā corāśchikura nikarāḥ karpapuro mayūro
Bhāso hāsaḥ Kavikulaguru Kālidāso vilāsaḥ
Harṣo harṣo hṛdayavasatiḥ pañchabāpastu Bāṇaḥ
Kīśam naisā kathaya kavitā kāmīnī kantakiya."

Corā is the mass of locks, Mayūra the ornament of the ear, Bhāsa is the smile and Kālidāsa, the master of all poets is the charm, Harṣa is pleasure and Bāṇa is the five-arrowed Cupid. How could the damsel of Poetry be other than charming?

¹⁷⁴² Panikkar—Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj, p. 68.

of the king written in elaborately ornamented characters. That Harṣa was also taught archery is evident from Bāṇa who describes Harṣa as "more delighting in the bow than Droṇa, more unerring with the arrow than Aśwatthāmā."¹⁷⁴³

Bāṇa also describes the stout forearm of Kumāragupta, a Mālava prince as "marked by the bow-string's scar"¹⁷⁴⁴ showing that the princes of the time practised archery.¹⁷⁴⁵ According to Bāṇa "with an intellect unwearied in political science and a deep study of the law-books he (king Tārāpiḍa of Ujjain) made in light and glory a third with the Sun and the Moon."¹⁷⁴⁶

That the princes also used to take physical exercise in the hall of exercise attached to the palace is evident from Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* where we are told that the king entered the private apartments and "there laying aside his adornments, like the Sun divested of his rays or the sky bare of moon and the stars, he entered the *hall of exercise*, where all was duly prepared. Having taken pleasant exercise therein with the princes of his own age, he then entered the bathing place."¹⁷⁴⁷

An idea of the character of and care for the education of the princes of the age will be evident from the following account given by Bāṇa about the education of prince Chandrāpiḍa, son of king Tārāpiḍa of Ujjain:—
"As Chandrāpiḍa underwent in due course all the circle of ceremonies, beginning with the tying of his top-knot, his childhood passed away; and to prevent distraction, Tārāpiḍa had built for him a palace of learning outside the city, stretching half a league along the Sīprā river, surrounded by a wall of white bricks like the circle of peaks of a snow-mountain, girt with a great moat running along the walls, guarded by very strong gates, having one door kept open for ingress, with stables for horses and palanquins close by, and a gymnasium constructed beneath—a fit palace for the immortals. He took infinite pains in gathering there teachers of every science, and having placed the boy there, like a young lion in a cage, forbidding all egress,

¹⁷⁴³ Harṣacharita—Cowell and Thomas, p. 63.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Compare Raghuvamśam, VI. 56, IX. 63; XI. 40.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Kādambarī—C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 13.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 120.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 48.

surrounding him with a suite composed mainly of the sons of his teachers, removing every allurements to the sports of boyhood and keeping his mind free from distraction, on an auspicious day he entrusted him, together with Vaiśampāyana, to masters, that they might acquire all knowledge. Every day when he rose, the king with Vilāsabati and a small retinue, went to watch him, and Chandrāpīḍa undisturbed in mind kept to his work by the king, quickly grasped all the sciences taught him by his teachers, whose efforts were quickened by his great powers, as they brought to light his natural abilities; the whole range of arts assembled in his mind as in a pure jewelled mirror. He gained the highest skill in word, sentence, proof, law and royal policy; in all kinds of weapons such as the bow, quoit, shield, scimitar, dart, mace, battle-axe and club; in driving and elephant-riding; in musical instruments, such as the lute, fife, drum, cymbal and pipe; in the laws of dancing laid down by Bharata and others and the science of music such as that of Nārada; in the management of elephants, the knowledge of a horse's age and the marks of men; in painting, leaf-cutting, the use of books and writing; in all the arts of gambling, knowledge of the cries of birds, and astronomy; in testing of jewels, carpentry, the working of ivory, in architecture, physics, mechanics, antidotes, mining, crossing of rivers, leaping and jumping and sleight of hand; in stories, dramas, romances, poems; in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Itihāsas and the Rāmāyaṇa; in all kinds of writing, all foreign languages, all technicalities, all mechanical arts, in metre and in every other art. And while he ceaselessly studied, even in his childhood an inborn vigour like that of Bhīma shone forth in him and stirred the world in wonder. For, when he was but in play the young elephants, who had attacked him as if he were a lions' whelp, had their limbs bowed down by his grasp on their ears and could not move; with one stroke of his scimitar he cut down palm-trees as if they were lotus-stalks; his shafts, like those of Paraśurāma when he blazed to consume the forest of earth's royal stems, cleft only the loftiest peaks; he exercised himself with an iron club which ten men were needed to lift".¹⁷⁴⁸ "The king learning that

¹⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 59-61.

Chandrāpīḍa had grown to youth and had completed his knowledge of all the arts, studied all the sciences and won great praise from his teachers, summoned Balāhaka, a mighty warrior and with a large escort of cavalry and army sent him on a very auspicious day to fetch the prince. And Balāhaka, going to the palace of learning..... approached Chandrāpīḍa and respectfully gave the king's message: 'Prince, the king bids me say: "Our desires are fulfilled; the śāstras have been learnt; thou hast gained the highest skill in all the martial sciences. All thy teachers give thee permission to leave the house of learning. Let the people see that thou hast received thy training, like a young royal elephant come out from the enclosure, having in thy mind the whole orb of the arts like the full moon, newly risen. Let the eyes of the world, long eager to behold thee, fulfil their true function; for, all the zenanas are yearning for thy sight. This is now the tenth year of thine abode in the school and thou didst enter it having reached experience of thy sixth year. This year, then, so reckoned, is the sixteenth of thy life, Now, therefore, when thou hast come forth and shown thyself to all thy mothers longing to see thee and hast saluted those who deserve thy honour, do thou lay aside thy early discipline, and experience at thy will the pleasures of the court and the delights of fresh youth. Pay thy respects to the Chiefs; honour the brāhmaṇas; protect thy people; gladden thy kinsfolk."¹⁷⁴⁹

Relying on inscriptions Prof. Dubreuil describes Mahendravarman, Pallava of Kāñchi (618 A. D.) as one who glorified poetry and music. It appears that he was the composer of some swaras. A burlesque (prahasana) has been found at Travancore written by Mahendravarman. Prof. Dubreuil has found confirmation of this fact from an inscription on a cave at Māmandūr and which he reads as Mattavilāsādīpadam prahasanam, Mattavilāsa being a title Mahendravarman I. According to Hiuen Tsang Amśubarman a recent king (of Nepal) had written a treatise on Etymology. This report of Hiuen Tsang about Amśubarman's learning receives corroboration from an Inscription¹⁷⁵⁰ (dated S. 39 i. e., 635 A. D.) where the following epithet is applied to him: "niśi niśi

¹⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 61-62.

¹⁷⁵⁰ No. 7 (Ind. Antiquary, IX. p. 170).

chānekaśāstrārtha bimarśābasāditāsaddarśanatayā dharmādhikārasthite-
kāraṇamebātatsa bamanatīśayam manyamānaḥ." Parameśwarabharman
Pallava, king of Kāñchi (674 A. D.) is described in the Kuram Pallava
grant¹⁷⁵¹ as fond of poetry. King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmere (751-782 A. D.)
was well-versed in the śāstra on dancing and acting composed by
Bharata muni.¹⁷⁵² "Receiving instruction from a master of grammatical
science, called Kṣīra, the learned Jayāpīḍa gained distinction with the
wise. He was proud of being able to compete with the learned. So
much greater was his fame from the title of scholar than from that of
king that notwithstanding his various faults it has not faded like other
(things) subject to time."¹⁷⁵³ Jaydeva of Nepal (759 A. D.) is mentioned
to have composed certain verses contained in the Inscription dated
S. 153. The Eastern Chalukya king Vinayāditya III (766-809 Saka)
was specially proficient in Mathematics and hence was called Guṇaka.
(An idea of the training imparted to King Śaṅkarabharman of Kashmere
(883-902 A. D.) by his royal father can be obtained from the following
words of Śaṅkarabharman himself, preserved in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī:
"I was taken about by my father, on foot and without shoes, dressed
in heavy armour when it was hot and in transparent thin cloth when
it was cold. When those who went before the king saw me as I was
running by the side of the horses during the chase and elsewhere, torn
by the thorns and with tears in my eyes, they made representation to
him. He replied to them: 'Since I have attained the throne from
common rank, I know the hardships (experienced) by attendants at
different times during their services. After undergoing such misery, this
(son) will be sure to know the troubles of others when he comes to the
throne. Otherwise, he may remain ignorant (of them), being born on the
throne.'"¹⁷⁵⁴ Mahendrapāla (890-908 A. D.) and Mahīpāla (910-940 A. D.)
of Kanauj also had as their teacher the famous poet and dramatist
Rājaśekhara who in his works always describes himself as such.
Kṣhemagupta (940-958 A. D.) of Kashmere is described by Kalhaṇa as
trained by his teacher in the art of drawing darts.¹⁷⁵⁵ Abhimanyu of

¹⁷⁵¹ Hultzsch—South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, pp. 148-50.

¹⁷⁵² Rājatarāṅgiṇī, IV, 423.

¹⁷⁵³ Ibid., V, 196-99.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., IV, 489-91.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., VI, 180-81.

Kashmere (958-972 A. D.) was a learned king, well-versed in the śāstras.¹⁷⁵⁶ Bhoja Paramāra of Dhara (c. 1010-1055 A. D.) was a great author himself and a master of many subjects. He studied Astronomy, Alampkāra (poetics), Architecture, Yoga and Grammar and on each of these subjects, he has left works which are still treated as authoritative. His *Saraswatikaṇṭhāvaraṇa* on poetics, *Rājamārtanḍa* on Yoga and *Rajamṛgāṅkakarāṇa* on astronomy are well-known and speak of his high proficiency in these sciences. Bhoja is mentioned by several well-known writers as an author on Hindu Law as well, though no work of his on that subject is extant. He is so mentioned by Sūlanātha in the *Prāyaścittaviveka*, by Raghunandana and even by Vijāñeśwara in his famous *Mitākṣarā*. Rājendra Chola of Tanjore (1014-44 A. D.) was not only a great military commander but also a learned man as the title paṇḍit is found prefixed to his name in many inscriptions. King Eraga of the Rattas of Saundatti is described in one of his inscriptions (dated 1040 A. D.) as a Vidyādhara in singing.¹⁷⁵⁷ Abhimanyu of the Kachhaghāta dynasty of Dubkhund was famous for his skill in horsemanship and archery which was extolled even by Bhoja, king of Malwa.¹⁷⁵⁸ Kalasa (1063-1089 A. D.) of Kashmere is described by Kalhana as having learnt diplomacy and bravery from Jindurāja.¹⁷⁵⁹ Anantabarmān Chodaganga (1076-1142 A. D.) of the Eastern Ganga dynasty of Trikalīṅga and Orissa is described as learned in the Vedas and the śāstras and even in architecture and fine arts as if Saraswati herself was his nurse.¹⁷⁶⁰ Lakṣhamānadeva Paramāra of Dhar

¹⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., VI. 290.

¹⁷⁵⁷ I. A., XIX. p. 161.

¹⁷⁵⁸ *Yasyātyadrutabāhabāhana mahāśāstraprayogādīṣa prābipyam prabikatthitam prthumati śrībhojapṛthwibhujā*—Dubkhund Inscription—E. I., III.

¹⁷⁵⁹ *Rājatarāṅgi*, VII. 577.

¹⁷⁶⁰ "Dhātrī tasya Saraswatīsamabhabaunnanaṃ nachetpītabāna talsāraswatamārya-bālakatamaḥ śrī chodagangeśwaraḥ.

Tādṛkvedamatīḥ katham nipuṇatā śāstreṣu tādṛkkatham tādṛkkābyakṛtīḥ katham paripateḥ śilpeṣu tādṛkkātham."

(1081-1104 A. D.) was also a great poet.¹⁷⁶¹ Harṣa of Kashmere (1089-1101 A. D.) was the embodiment of all sciences.¹⁷⁶² "Knowing all languages, a great poet in all tongues and a depository of all learning, he became famous even in other countries. He was an expert singer as well."¹⁷⁶³ Bilhana in his *Vikramāṅkacharita*¹⁷⁶⁴ praises Harṣa of Kashmere for his personal bravery in battle, for his skill as a poet by which he surpassed even Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj. He also refers to his power of composing sweet songs in all languages (*sarvavāṣā-kavitva*). "Surely" says Kalhana, "not even Brhaspati is able to name clearly all the sciences in which he was versed. Even to this day, if one of the songs which he composed for the voice is heard, tears roll on the eye-lashes even of his enemies."¹⁷⁶⁵ He was eminent by his knowledge of all sciences.¹⁷⁶⁶ From Kanaka, Kalhana's own uncle, Harṣa took lessons in song and for his services as tutor in music he gave a lac of gold *dinnārs*.¹⁷⁶⁷ Harṣa himself used to teach the dancing girls of his palace how to act.¹⁷⁶⁸ He was also skilled in athletic exercises.¹⁷⁶⁹ Naravarmadeva Paramāra of Dhara (c. 1104-1133 A. D.) was like his father Udayāditya a poet and was the author of the fragment of an unpublished *praśasti* found in the Mahākāla temple in Ujjain.¹⁷⁷⁰ In the Bhojaśālā at Dhara and in Umā and Mahākāla temples in Ujjain inscriptions have been found in serpentine form giving the sanskrit noun and verb terminations of Pāṇini, accompanied by verses containing the names of Udayāditya and Naravarman and making punning allusions to their valour and learning.¹⁷⁷¹ Govindachandra (1114-1155 A. D.) of the Gāhadavāla dynasty of Kanauj is described in most Gāhadavāla records as "Vividha-vichāra-vidyā-vāchaṣpati," a very Brhaspati (teacher of gods) in different

¹⁷⁶¹ Nāgpara *Prāśasti*.

¹⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 613.

¹⁷⁶⁸ *Rājatarāṅgi*, VII, 941-42.

¹⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1117-18.

¹⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1704.

¹⁷⁷¹ *Udayādityanāmāṅkabarṇanāgākṛpāpikā* *mapīśreṇī sṛṣṭā sukaḍibān-dhunā* *kabipāṇ cha nṛpānāṇ cha hṛdayeṣu nibeṣitā*—Luard and Lele's *The Paramāras of Dhar*, p. 30.

¹⁷⁶² *Rājatarāṅgi*, VII, 319.

¹⁷⁶⁴ XVIII, 64-66.

¹⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 970.

¹⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1640-41.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Luard and Lele—*The Paramāras of Dhar*, p. 29.

sciences and philosophies. King Bhikṣācara (1120-22 A. D.) when a boy was trained in arms and taught sciences by Naravarman, the ruler of Malwa.¹⁷⁷² Someśvara III (1126-37 A. D.) of the later Chālukya dynasty of Kalyan was the author of *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārtha-chintāmaṇi* which is a compendium of military art, political science, horse and elephant rearing, poetry, dialectics, music, astronomy—in short, all sciences which lead to the happiness of men. In Astronomy he gave the *Dhruvāṅkas* (constants to be added). Vijayāditya Kadamba of Goa (1158 A. D.) was also a very learned prince and earned the title of *Vaṇibhuṣaṇa*. The praise bestowed on him in an inscription is well worth quoting below :—

“ Viṅgan kunti prāse dhanusi biṣame chāṣifalake bare bādye gite
sarasakabitāsāstrabisare
Tumragādyārohe smṛtiṣu cha purāṇeṣu purujit parijñānādhobhuj
jagati vahuvidyādhara iti.”

Ballālasena (1159-70 A. D.) of Bengal was also a learned man, being the author of *Dānasāgara* and he commenced another work which his son Lakṣamaṇasena finished. Aparāditya II Śilāhāra of Thana (1175-1200 A.D.) was also a great scholar, being the author of the well-known commentary on *Yājñabalkya-smṛti* known as *Aparāka*, a work of recognised authority on Hindu law and recognised as such even in far off Kashmere. Arjunabarmadeva Paramāra of Dhar (1210-16 A. D.) is described in his court-poet Madana's drama which is inscribed on slabs, found at Dhar by Lele, as not only a poet but also an author.¹⁷⁷³

It is thus evident that even in the Mediæval Hindu period the Indian princes were taught as before, not only the śāstras but also the śāstras. Al Beruni's statement¹⁷⁷⁴ that “the Brahmins teach the Vedas to the kṣatriyas..... the vaiśyas and sūdras are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce and recite it” proves not only the later origin of the dictum “*Kalābādyantayoḥ sthitiḥ*”

¹⁷⁷² *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VIII. 228.

¹⁷⁷³ *Kāvya-gāndhavya-sarvasya-nidhiṇā yena sāmpratam
Vārāṇasī-tāraṇam devyāśchakre pustakabhinayoh*

—Ep. Ind., IX. p. 108.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Sachau's *Eng. Trans.*, Vol. I. p. 125.

but also the study of the Vedas by the kṣatriyas. And we have already seen how noted kings like Samudragupta, Harṣa Śīlāditya, Harṣa of Kashmere, Bhoja, Govindachandra and Vijayāditya were as learned in the sacred and profane lore as the Brahmins. But the above survey makes it clear that in the later (Mediæval) Hindu period, although there were princes well-versed in military science like Muñja and Bhoja of Dhar, Harṣa of Kashmere, Abhimanyu of Dhubbhunda and Rājendrachola of Tanjore Indian princes in general, revelled more in the study of poetics than in the more necessary study of the science of war and of the science of the state. The distinctions of heroines in love and despair, the essentials of poetry, poetical blemishes and embellishments and the figures of speech engaged the intelligence of the princes and some of them even wrote elaborate treatises on poetics and dramaturgy. This, no doubt, made princely education individualistic and liberal in character but the minute study of poetics led to the deterioration of taste and morals and the increase of voluptuousness can be marked from the Karpūramañjarī of Rājasekhara to the Ramvāmañjarī of Nyāyachandra. The stage attracted the princes more than the camp and the way was thus paved for foreign domination and rule.

In the Bhagalpur grant¹⁷⁷⁵ of Nārāyaṇapāla and in the Deo-Barnak Inscription¹⁷⁷⁶ (of Bengal) we find the mention of an officer over king's sons, designated respectively as Kumārāmātya and Mahākumārāmātya, but we do not know whether the education of the princes was among their functions. Nevertheless on account of their ability to pay most of the princes seem to have engaged private tutors. Viṣma learnt the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas from his tutor Vaśiṣṭha¹⁷⁷⁷ and had Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇdu and Bidur taught by a competent tutor.¹⁷⁷⁸ He also appointed Droṇāchārya to coach his grandsons—the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas.¹⁷⁷⁹ King Drupad also appointed a Brahmin resident-tutor who taught among other subjects

¹⁷⁷⁵ Ind. Ant., XV.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Corp. Ins., Vol. III. p. 216.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 100th and 103rd adhyāyas.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 109th adhyāya.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., 130th adhyāya.

Br̥haspati-nīti to the princes.¹⁷⁸⁰ King Suddodhana¹⁷⁸¹ appointed Sabbamitta as tutor to his son Gautama. Similarly, Balāditya (Samudragupta ?) and Mahīpāla had Vasubandhu¹⁷⁸² and Rājasekhara respectively as their tutors. King Harṣa of Kashmere appointed Kanaka, (Kalhana's uncle) as his tutor in music to whom he gave a lac of gold dīnāraś as tuition-fee (Rājatarāṅgiṇī, VII. 1117-18). King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmere had Kṣīra as his tutor in grammar (Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 165 and 165 foot-note).

The education of the prince was kept by the Brahmins closely in their hands. According to Manu¹⁷⁸³ teaching the Vedas shall never revert to the kṣatriya as against the brāhmaṇa. The injunction of Manu¹⁷⁸⁴ that the king should learn from the people the theory of the various trades and professions seems to imply that in the subject of Vārttā others besides Brahmins might be called in to give instruction to the young princes and this would seem probable also in the matter of military skill. Viśvāmitra thus gave to Rāma a training in the use of missiles and weapons;¹⁷⁸⁵ yet brāhmaṇa control dominated throughout. We are told that Rāma's teachers are aged brāhmaṇas who have seen the true import of Dharma.¹⁷⁸⁶ Droṇa a Brahmin taught military arts to the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.¹⁷⁸⁷ Droṇa also taught military art to a king of the Andhaka family and to many princes.¹⁷⁸⁸ Bhīṣma was taught the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas by Vasiṣṭha, a Brahmin. (Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 100th and 103rd ādhyāyas). The brothers of Draupadī were taught Br̥haspati-nīti by a brahmin resident-tutor.¹⁷⁸⁹ King Janaka learnt Brahmanvidyā from various brāhmaṇa āchāryas.¹⁷⁹⁰ King Bṛhadratha learnt Brahmanvidyā from the brāhmaṇa ascetic Sākāyana.¹⁷⁹¹ King

¹⁷⁸⁰ Ibid., Banaparva, 32nd adhyāya.

¹⁷⁸² Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu.

¹⁷⁸⁴ VII. 43.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 27 and 28th sargas.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 1st sarga.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Ibid., 132nd adhyāya.

¹⁷⁹⁰ Bṛhad. Up., IV. 1.

¹⁷⁸¹ Milindā-Paṭha, IV. 6, 3.

¹⁷⁸³ X. 77.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Mahābhārata, Ādiparva.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., Banaparva, 132nd adhyāya.

¹⁷⁹¹ Maitrā. Up., 1f.

Janasruti learnt Brahmanavidyā from the brāhmaṇa Raikva.¹⁷⁹² Prince Gautama was taught by nine teachers all of whom were Brahmins.¹⁷⁹³ In Kautilya's Arthaśāstra¹⁷⁹⁴ we are told: "That kṣatriya breed which is *brought up by Brahmins*, is charmed with the counsels of good councillors and which faithfully follows the precepts of the śāstras becomes invincible and attains success, though unaided by weapons". Kanaka, the uncle of Kalhaṇa, a Brahmin gave lessons in music to king Harṣa of Kashmere.¹⁷⁹⁵ Kṣira, Jayāpīḍa's teacher in grammar was a brāhmaṇa of the Rājanaka family of Kashmere.¹⁷⁹⁶ Al-Beruni¹⁷⁹⁷ speaks in the same strain: "The *Brahmins* teach the Veda to kṣatriyas. The latter learn it but are not allowed to teach it even to a brāhmaṇa."¹⁷⁹⁸

In his town-planning scheme Kautilya has reserved for the royal teachers' residence a good site. Says he: "Royal teachers, priests, sacrificial place, water reservoir and ministers shall occupy sites east by north to the palace".¹⁷⁹⁹ According to him 'they are to receive the sum of 48,000 paṇas per annum' which was also the pay of the minister, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent prince, the mother of the king and the queen.¹⁸⁰⁰ With this amount for their subsistence, they will scarcely yield themselves to temptation and hardly be discontented.¹⁸⁰¹

Tod in his Rājasthān¹⁸⁰² in referring to these purohita teachers gives rather a bad opinion of them as men who took advantage of their position to get gain for themselves by working on the superstition of their employers. But we need not suppose that this was generally the case and many of them were men of high character whose moral influence on their pupils was distinctly good. India has had many famous rulers, who were educated under this system and many who also attained to literary merit. Among these princes there also grew up a

¹⁷⁹² Ibid.

¹⁷⁹⁴ R. Śyāmaśāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 17.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 165 and 165 foot-note.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Sachan's Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p. 125.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Compare the remark of king Ajātaśatru: Pratilomārūpameva brāhmaṇamupanayeta (Kauś. Up., IV. 1. 19).

¹⁷⁹⁹ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmaśāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 61.

¹⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹³ Milindā-Pañha, IV. 6, 3.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, VII. 1117.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 307.

¹⁸⁰² Page 407.

spirit of chivalry, very much like that which prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages.¹⁸⁰³ Tod mentions that amongst the Rajput tribes, youthful candidates were initiated to military fame in much the same way as young men in Europe in the Middle Ages became knights. The ceremony of initiation was called *Kharg bandai* or binding of the sword and took place when the young Rajput was considered fit to bear arms. The spirit of chivalry thus inculcated must have set before these young princes and nobles a high ideal of valour and virtue and this is reflected in the Epics and in the bardic chronicles of Rājasthāna which contain many stories of noble deeds and knightly heroism.

Indeed, the education of the Indian princes was not inferior to that of the European Knights in the Age of Chivalry. No doubt the note of personal ambition and of adventure for adventure's sake seems much less prominent in the Indian ideal than in the European but the gentler virtues such as patience and filial devotion were much more emphasised as we see in the story of Rāma. The idea that the king and the prince had a duty to perform to society in the protection of the weak and that their position was not one so much of glory and of ease as of service to others, is very prominent. Thus Viśwāmitra in exhorting Rāma to kill Tārakā says: "Do not feel it impious to kill a female. For the good of the four varṇas this is enjoined for the princes. One who has taken over the charge of the protection of the people should perform all kinds of deeds, however cruel, sinful and infamous they might be, if thereby, he would keep in safety his subjects".¹⁸⁰⁴ Rāma on hearing Sitā's words dissuading him from undertaking the task of ridding Daṇḍakāraṇya of Rākṣasas who are killing innocent hermits living therein, thus says to her: "You yourself have just said that the kṣatriya should take the bow and the arrow so that the word 'ārta' (unprotected) should not remain in this earth. Now these hermits of Daṇḍakāraṇya have approached me seeking my protection against these Rākṣasas".¹⁸⁰⁵ No doubt many of them failed to live up to this noble ideal but in formulating it and holding it before the young princes India has much of which to be proud.

¹⁸⁰³ Rājasthān, pp. 63, 512.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 25th sarga.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., Āraṇyakāṇḍa, 10th sarga.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

§ 1. THE PARISADS.

From the most ancient times there existed in India Brahminic settlements and in connection with them Parisads or assemblies of learned brāhmaṇas who gave decisions on all points connected with the Brahminic religion and learning. We have already referred (*ante*, pp. 55-57) to these Parisads as seats of learning and have seen that not only were different faculties represented but even a student was a member of the Parisad. The settlement of brāhmaṇas proficient in different branches of the ancient learning in various centres must have meant the gathering together also of a number of students who received instruction from them and thus these Parisads would form the nucleus of something corresponding to a University.

§ 2. TAXILA.

An instance of an early Brahminic intellectual centre was Takṣaśilā. This town is now represented by more than twelve square miles of ruins to the north-west of Rawalpindi and the south-east of Hasan Abdal.¹⁸⁰⁶ The site according to Sir John Marshall, embraces three separate cities namely, the Bir Mound to the south which was in occupation from the earliest times say 1500 B. C. until the close of the Maurya domination about 180 B. C.; secondly, the city known as Sir Kap further north, which is believed to have been founded by the Greek invaders in the first half of the second century B. C. and to have been occupied by the Greeks and their successors, the Scythians and Parthians until about 70 A. D.; and thirdly, the city of Sir Sukh, still further north, to which there is reason to believe the capital was transferred from Sir Kap by the Kushanas. Thus, within four centuries, Taxila became subject to five different empires—the Macedonian, the Mauryan, the Bactrian, the Parthian and the Kushana

¹⁸⁰⁶ V. A. Smith—Early History of India, third edition, p. 61.

and from these widely different civilisations, extending from Greece to Western China and from the steppes of Russia to the Bay of Bengal it must have inherited much of the culture and of the arts peculiar to each. We are told in the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁸⁰⁷ that Vyabahāra (Law) was a specialised subject at Taxila. The *Mahābhārata* also refers to Takṣaśilā as a noted seat of learning. The story is told of one of its teachers named Dhaumya who had three disciples named Upamanyu, Aruṇi and Veda. Aruṇi hailed from Pāñchāla and was an ideal student in respect of devotion to his teacher under whose orders, in order to stop a leakage in the water-course in his field, Aruṇi, finding every other means unavailing, threw his body into the breach. We learn from the *Dhammapadāṭṭhakathā*¹⁸⁰⁸ that a student went to Taxila from Benares for studying the śilpas and had 500 class-mates. According to the same work¹⁸⁰⁹ Pasenadi, king of Kośala was educated at Taxila. The *Mahāvagga*¹⁸¹⁰ has reference to teachers at Taxila, to whom students were going for the study of the śilpas. From the *Mahāvagga*¹⁸¹¹ we also learn that Jivaka, the renowned physician at the court of Bimbisāra, was educated in medicine and surgery at Taxila. So much reputation had been gained by Taxila as a centre of learning that we are told by Pāṇini¹⁸¹² that Takṣaśilā as the surname of a person denoted that his ancestors had lived at Taxila, while the *Mahābhārata*¹⁸¹³ declares the men of Taxila to be unrivalled in discussions on matters of learning. The *Jātaka* stories are equally full of references to the fame of Taxila as a University town.¹⁸¹⁴ The great grammarian Pāṇini and Chāpakya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya are said to have had their education in Taxila. Here at the time of Alexander's invasion the Greeks first came into contact with the brāhmaṇa philosophers and were astonished at their asceticism and strange doctrines. In the days of Aśoka the Great, Taxila was "one of the greatest and most splendid cities of the East and enjoyed special

¹⁸⁰⁷ *Uttarakāṇḍa*, 101, 11.

¹⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, I. p. 211.

¹⁸¹¹ VIII. 3.

¹⁸¹³ *Ādi-parva*, III. 172.

¹⁸¹⁴ I. 273, 317, 402, 406, 431, 447, 463; II. 277; IV. 38; V. 127; VI. 347 etc.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Pali Text Society's edition, I. 250.

¹⁸¹⁰ *Mahābhārata*, VIII. 1, 5 and 6.

¹⁸¹² Pāṇini, IV. 3. 93.

reputation as the headquarters of Hindu learning. The sons of peoples of all the upper classes, chiefs, brāhmaṇas and merchants flocked to Taxila as to a University town, in order to study the circle of Indian arts and sciences, especially Medicine." At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit "the brāhmaṇas of this town are well-grounded in their literary work and are of high renown for their talents, well-informed as to things (men and things) and of a vigorous understanding (memory)."

The fame of Taxila as a seat of learning was mainly due to that of its teachers. Of one such teacher we read: 'youths of the warrior and the brāhmaṇa caste came from all India to be taught the arts by him.'¹⁸¹⁵ They are always spoken of as being 'world-renowned,' being authorities, specialists and experts in the subjects they taught. And it was the presence of scholars of such acknowledged excellence and wide-spread reputation that caused a steady movement of qualified students drawn from all classes and ranks of society towards Taxila from far off Benares,¹⁸¹⁶ Rajagṛha,¹⁸¹⁷ Mithilā,¹⁸¹⁸ Lāhya country,¹⁸¹⁹ Ujjain,¹⁸²⁰ Kośala,¹⁸²¹ and the Sivi and Kuru Kingdoms in the 'North Country',¹⁸²² thus enabling it to exercise a kind of intellectual suzerainty over the wide world of letters in India.

The students are always spoken of as going to Taxila to 'complete' their education and not to begin it.¹⁸²³ They are invariably sent at the age of sixteen¹⁸²⁴ or when they 'come of age.' This shows that Taxila was the seat not of elementary, but of secondary and higher education. The age limit for admission there was curiously enough the same as is prescribed by modern Universities. Moreover, only

¹⁸¹⁵ Jātaka III. 158.

¹⁸¹⁶ Jātaka I. 272, 285, 409; II. 85, 87; IV. 50, 224; V. 263, 127 etc.

¹⁸¹⁷ Ibid., III. 238; V. 177, 247.

¹⁸¹⁸ Ibid. IV. 316; VI. 347.

¹⁸¹⁹ Ibid., I. 447. Lāhya has been identified by Mr. Nandalal De with the Hugly district in Bengal. (J. A. S. B., New series, Vol. VI, 1910. p. 604.

¹⁸²⁰ Ibid., IV. 392.

¹⁸²¹ Ibid. III. 115.

¹⁸²² Ibid., V. 210; V. 457; III. 399; I. 356.

¹⁸²³ In Jātaka IV. 38 we are told that the son of a poor woman of a caravan, a merchant's son and the son of a tailor in the employ of the merchant "all grew up together and by and by went to Taxila to complete their education".

¹⁸²⁴ Jātaka I. 285.

the students of a maturer age could be sent so far away from their homes for the furtherence of their studies.

The students of Taxila were quite a heterogenous lot, drawn from all ranks and classes of society and representing diverse social conditions. Chaṇḍālas, however, were not admitted as students, for, we are told in the Cittasambhūti Jātaka¹⁸²⁵ that two Chaṇḍāla boys who disguised as brāhmaṇas came to Taxila to study law but betrayed themselves by their coarse language and manners when one of them burnt his mouth at a dinner were at once expelled.

While all castes except the Chaṇḍālas were admitted to instruction it seems that the castes so admitted did not always confine themselves to their traditional subjects of study. We read of a Brahmin boy of Taxila who learnt divination under his teacher. Another Brahmin boy studied magic charms. Another is spoken of as having gone in for the liberal arts and ultimately specialised in archery. It is again a Brahmin boy that studies 'the charm which commands all things of sense.' There is a reference to a Brahmin boy choosing 'science' for his study and to another mastering the three Vedas and the eighteen accomplishments.¹⁸²⁶

No doubt the poorer students who could not pay their tuition fees had to undergo a course of menial service for the school (see *ante*, pp. 119-20) but the recognition of the dignity of all honest labour secured to them a status of equality with its aristocratic section. What further levelled down all distinctions within the school was the insistence upon certain standards of simplicity and discipline in life to which all its members had to submit. The Prince Brahmadata of Benares¹⁸²⁷ is sent on to Taxila for his studies with the modest equipment given him by his royal father of "a pair of onsoled sandals, a sunshade of leaves, and a thousand pieces of money" as his teacher's fees, of which not a single pice he could retain for his private use. Thus the prince enters his school as a poor man, divested of all riches. The same fact is pointed out by the story of Prince Junha of Benares,¹⁸²⁸ who accidentally

¹⁸²⁵ Jātaka IV. 391.

¹⁸²⁶ Jātaka II. 200; II. 99; III. 219; IV. 456; III. 18; II. 87; III. 115, 122.

¹⁸²⁷ Jātaka No. 252.

¹⁸²⁸ Jātaka IV. 96.

breaking the alms-bowl of a Brahmin by colliding with him in nocturnal darkness, was asked to pay him the price of a meal as compensation. The prince then said to the Brahmin: "I cannot now give you the price of a meal, Brahmin; but I am Prince Junha, son of the king of Kāśi, and when I go to my kingdom, you may come to me and ask for the money." Thus while at school a king's son was as poor as the son of a peasant.

Of the subjects taught the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās (vidyās) are frequently mentioned. In the Bhimsena Jātaka¹⁸²⁹ there is a description of how the Bodhisattva learnt the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās. In the Kosiya Jātaka¹⁸³⁰ we are told that Bodhisattva being born in a Brahmin family studied the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās at Taxila. In the Dhummedha Jātaka¹⁸³¹ it is stated that at the age of sixteen Bodhisattva went to Taxila and mastered the eighteen vijjās. In the Asadisa Jātaka¹⁸³² we find that the Bodhisattva mastered the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās. In many other Jātakas,¹⁸³³ we find that Bodhisattva studied the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās. The invariable mention of the three Vedas shows that the study of Atharvaveda was not included in the curriculum of studies. The Vedas were of course to be learnt by heart. We are told of a teacher of Taxila from whose lips 500 brāhmaṇa pupils learnt the Vedas.¹⁸³⁴

Of the conventional eighteen vijjās archery was one. In the Bhimsena Jātaka¹⁸³⁵ we learn that Bodhisattva learnt archery at Taxila. In the Asadisa Jātaka¹⁸³⁶ we are told that Bodhisattva learnt archery at Taxila and got himself appointed as the archer of a king at whose orders he brought down a mango from the top of a tree with his bow and arrow. From the Sarabhanga Jātaka¹⁸³⁷ we learn that Bodhisattva learnt archery at Taxila and gave exhibition of many feats

¹⁸²⁹ Jātaka I. 356.

¹⁸³⁰ Jātaka I. 463.

¹⁸³¹ Jātaka I. 285.

¹⁸³² Jātaka II. 87.

¹⁸³³ Jātaka I. 505, 510; III. 115, 122; IV. 200.

¹⁸³⁴ Jātaka I. 402.

¹⁸³⁵ Jātaka I. 356.

¹⁸³⁶ Jātaka II. 87.

¹⁸³⁷ Jātaka V. 127.

before the king of the country of his birth. He pierced a plank eight fingers thick, an iron sheet one finger thick, a cart full of earth and sand, etc. He was further requested to show more feats, viz., śaralatthi (stick of arrows), śararajjum (a rope of arrows) śaraveṇi (a row of arrows) śarapāsāda (a palace of arrows), śaramaṇḍapa (a pavilion of arrows), śarasopāna (a ladder of arrows), śarapokkharāṇi (a tank of arrows), śarapadumam (a lotus of arrows) and śaravassam (a flight of arrows). The Pañchavyūha Jātaka¹⁸³⁸ also refers to the military training of Bodhisattva, a son of Brahmādatta, king of Benares. Indeed Taxila was famous for its military schools. One such school¹⁸³⁹ could boast of counting all the then princes throughout India numbering 103 as its students. In this connection we may refer to the story of the brāhmaṇa boy of Benares Jyotipāla by name who was sent to Taxila at the king's expense for education in archery. When he had finished his training and was returning home, the teacher presented him with his own sword, a bow and arrow, a coat of mail and a diamond and asked him to take his place as the head of 500 pupils to be trained up by him in the military arts as he was himself old and wanted to retire.¹⁸⁴⁰

Another branch of learning taught at Taxila was snake-charming. In the Compeyya Jātaka¹⁸⁴¹ it is stated that a young Brahmin learnt Alambanamantam (mantra for charming snakes) at Taxila.

Religious ceremonials seem to have been taught at Taxila. In the Susīma Jātaka¹⁸⁴² we are told that Bodhisattva was once born as the son of a hatthimangalakārako. When the king wished to perform hatthimangala ceremony, his ministers requested him to choose a priest from among the elderly Brahmins. Upon this Bodhisattva's mother became sorry and young Bodhisattva coming to know the cause of his mother's sorrow enquired as to where he would be able to learn Hattisuttam. Being told about Taxila he went there, learnt Hattisuttam and took part in the royal ceremony.

¹⁸³⁸ Jātaka I. 273.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Jātaka V. 127.

¹⁸⁴² Jātaka II. 47.

¹⁸³⁹ Jātaka V. 457.

¹⁸⁴¹ Jātaka IV. 456.

Certain occult sciences were also taught. In the *Vrahāchatta Jātaka*¹⁸⁴³ it is related how a son of the king of Kośala learnt *Nidhi-uddhāraṇamantam* at Taxila and then found out the hidden treasure of his father with which he hired mercenaries and reconquered the lost kingdom of his father. We hear of pupils at Taxila, learning magic charms, spell for bringing back the dead to life, spell for understanding animal cries, the art of prognostication, charm for commanding all things of sense and divining from the signs on the body.¹⁸⁴⁴

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁸⁴⁵ *Vyabahāra* (Law) was a specialised subject of study at Taxila. This is also evident from the *Chittasambhūti Jātaka*¹⁸⁴⁶ where we learn of two *chāṇḍāla* boys who came from far off Ujjain to Taxila to learn Law in the guise of *brāhmaṇa* pupils.

Taxila, however, was specially reputed for its school of Medicine.¹⁸⁴⁷ *Jivaka*,¹⁸⁴⁸ the physician of *Bimbisāra*, studied Medicine here under the great ṛṣi professor *Ātreya*.¹⁸⁴⁹ The study of Medicine seems to have had both a theoretical and practical course. The theoretical course consisted of a study of the texts on Medicine and Surgery while the practical course included a first hand study of plants to find out their medicinal values, as shown in the account of *Jivaka*'s education. We may also refer to the successful surgical operations executed by *Jivaka* as soon as he had left Taxila on finishing his education, for they show that he must have had a previous practical training in such difficult operations.

The colleges at Taxila seem to have had a number of sittings every day. The poorer students who paid for the expense of their education by the performance of menial work for the school during the day could find time for study only in the nights when accordingly the

¹⁸⁴³ *Jātaka* III. 115-116.

¹⁸⁴⁴ *Jātaka* II. 100; I. 510; III. 415; III. 122; IV. 465; II. 200.

¹⁸⁴⁵ *Uttarakāṇḍa* 101, 11.

¹⁸⁴⁶ *Jātaka* IV. 171.

¹⁸⁴⁷ *Mahāvagga* (Vinaya Pīṭaka edited by Oldenberg), VIII. 3.

¹⁸⁴⁸ The Chinese literature, as pointed out by the author of "*Bauddha Bhārata*" (in

Bengali) refers to a Chinese prince who came to study Medicine at Taxila.

teacher imparted instruction to them.¹⁸⁵⁰ It was probably convenient for the day-scholars to attend night classes: We read of Prince Junha who "one night, after he had been listening carefully to his teacher's instructions, left the house of his teacher in the dark and set out for home."¹⁸⁵¹ Another student of Benares who went to Taxila for a particular instruction implored his teacher thus: "Give me your time for this night only. I will learn the whole after one lesson."¹⁸⁵² As regards the students who paid their teachers fees, they were given 'schooling on every light and lucky day'.¹⁸⁵³

We have already referred to the theoretical and practical courses in Medicine at Taxila. Similarly, a practical turn was given to all instruction as a pedagogic principle. Thus we read of a brāhmaṇa student of a market-town in the North country who specialised in the science of archery at Taxila and after finishing his education went as far as the Andhra country in prosecution of the practical application of his art.¹⁸⁵⁴ A prince of Kośala is also mentioned who after studying the three Vedas and eighteen liberal arts at Taxila left the place to study the practical uses of these sciences learned.¹⁸⁵⁵ Lastly, there is an instance in which a student, on the completion of his education in the arts at Taxila and returning home to Benares had to exhibit before his parents a practical demonstration of the technical knowledge he had acquired. Thus the University reacted on the villages and preserved the artistic capacities and traditions of the people.

Many other educational institutions are frequently referred to in the Jātakas e. g., in I. 234 (Losaka Jātaka); I. 317; I. 402; I. 447; I. 463; I. 510; II. 48; III. 122; III. 537 (Tittira Jātaka); IV. 391; V. 128; V. 457. From the Jātakas we learn that some these institutions were maintained partly by the honorariums paid by the sons of the wealthy members of the society¹⁸⁵⁶ and partly by the scholarships awarded to students by the states to which they belonged.¹⁸⁵⁷ Sometimes

¹⁸⁵⁰ Jātaka II. 278.

¹⁸⁵² Jātaka II. 47.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Jātaka I. 356.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Jātaka I. 272, 285; IV. 50, 224 etc.

¹⁸⁵¹ Jātaka IV. 96.

¹⁸⁵³ Jātaka No. 252.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Jātaka III. 115.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Jātaka V. 263; III. 238, V. 247; V. 127.

the students had a common mess¹⁸⁵⁸ but when they were too poor a charitable community came forward to provide for them a free education.¹⁸⁵⁹ It is worthy of note that not only religious treatises like the three Vedas¹⁸⁶⁰ but also the various secular arts and sciences were cultivated in these centres of education. Instead of the three Vedas, we sometimes find mention of sacred texts,¹⁸⁶¹ holy books¹⁸⁶² or the law.¹⁸⁶³ Some of these terms may indicate the sacred literature of the Buddhists. We find even the direct mention of a Vinaya scholar and a Sūtra scholar.¹⁸⁶⁴

Side by side with institutions of a heterogenous composition, we also find references to colleges of particular communities only. Teachers with 500 pupils all Brahmins are frequently mentioned. Sometimes teachers would have only brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya pupils. We also read of a teacher at Taxila whose school had on its rolls only princes as pupils—"all princes who were at that time in India to the number of 101", besides two other princes newly admitted from the kingdoms of Kuru and Benares.¹⁸⁶⁵

§ 3. THE HERMITAGES.

Other centres of learning were the hermitages of one or more renowned sages living in the forests.

The hermitage of Vālmiki was at Chitrakūṭa hill.¹⁸⁶⁶ It was situated on the bank of the river Tamasa.¹⁸⁶⁷ According to Bhababhūti¹⁸⁶⁸ it was situated on the Ganges. According to Somadeva¹⁸⁶⁹ it was situated not far from a spot called Pañchabaṭi. Here Rāma and his party were entertained.¹⁸⁷⁰ When Śatrughna

¹⁸⁵⁸ Jātaka I. 317; IV. 391.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Jātaka I. 402; I. 259.

¹⁸⁶² Jātaka IV. 293.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Jātaka III. 486.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 56th sarga.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Uttara-Rāma-Charita, Acts. IV. and V; Balvelkar's Eng. Trans., pp. 31-33.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Kathāsaritsāgara, Penzer's edition, Vol. I. p. 166.

¹⁸⁷⁰ Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 56th sarga.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Jātaka I. 239 (Losaka Jātaka); I. 317; III. 171.

¹⁸⁶¹ Jātaka III. 235.

¹⁸⁶³ Jātaka IV. 392.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Jātaka I. 317, 402, 496; III. 168; V. 457.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Ibid., Uttarakāṇḍa, 45th sarga.

came to stay here for one night while on his expedition against Lavaṇa, Vālmiki related to him how this hermitage was connected with King Saudāsa of the family of Raghu.¹⁸⁷¹ Many students resided in this hermitage of whom Varadwāja who was proficient in śāstric knowledge was one.¹⁸⁷² In this hermitage Kuśa and Lava were taught the Vedas, the art of music, sthāna and murchhanā-tattva and the Rāmāyaṇa.¹⁸⁷³ The Raghuvamśam of Kālidāsa also refers to this hermitage of Vālmiki¹⁸⁷⁴ whose pupils brought Sītā before king Rāma.¹⁸⁷⁵ In this hermitage Vālmiki taught the twin sons of Rāma the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas¹⁸⁷⁶ as also the art of singing.¹⁸⁷⁷ In Act IV. Scene I of Bhababhūti's Uttara-Rāma-Charita,¹⁸⁷⁸ one of the pupils admires the beauty of the hermitage which is now putting on its best appearance to welcome some venerable guests. The other is delighted at the thought that the guests bring with them also a holiday for the school. In the course of their conversation it transpires that the guests are no other than Arundhatī, Vasiṣṭha and the Queen-mother, who on the conclusion of Rṣyśringa's twelve year sacrifice have repaired to Vālmiki's hermitage. Among the day's guests there is also Janaka, Sītā's father, come on a friendly visit to Vālmiki. In Act II. Scene I we are told that Ātreyī was a fellow-student of Kuśa and Lava in this hermitage. She tells us that "as soon as Kuśa and Lava had gone through the chaula ceremony Vālmiki assiduously grounded them with the exception of the three Vedas—in the three other branches of knowledge. And then when the boys had reached the eleventh year from their conception, they were invested with the sacred thread and instructed in the knowledge of the three Vedas also".¹⁸⁷⁹

The hermitage of Anangadeva was at the confluence of the Ganges and the Saraju. The virtuous munis living there were the students of Anangadeva. It was visited by Viśvāmitra, accompanied by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

¹⁸⁷¹ Ibid., Uttarakāṇḍa, 65th sarga.

¹⁸⁷² Ibid., 4th sarga.

¹⁸⁷³ Canto XV. 74.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Canto XV. 69.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁸⁷³ Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 2nd sarga.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Canto XIV. 38.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Canto XV. 33.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., p. 60.

The hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha was also visited by Viśvāmitra who accepting the hospitality enquired about the welfare of Agnihotra students, their penance, and the trees.¹⁸⁸⁰ It was also visited by King Daśaratha.¹⁸⁸¹ The pristine grandeur of this hermitage is evident from its graphic description preserved in the Bālakāṇḍa, 51st Sarga. The Mahābhārata¹⁸⁸² also refers to this hermitage.

The hermitage of Varadwāja was near the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.¹⁸⁸³ The way to Ayodhyā from this hermitage was only three yojanas off.¹⁸⁸⁴ Chitrakūta hill was only twenty miles off from this place.¹⁸⁸⁵ Rāma and his party stayed here on their way to Chitrakūta.¹⁸⁸⁶ On their way to Ayodhyā after undergoing their period of banishment Rāma and his party stayed here.¹⁸⁸⁷ When Bharata and his councillors reached this hermitage on their way to Chitrakūta in search of Rāma, Varadwāja ordered his students to make arrangements for their reception.¹⁸⁸⁸ Varadwāja had a great friend in king Pṛṣathanāmā whose son Drupad was sent to this hermitage for education. Varadwāja was succeeded in this hermitage by his son Droṇa. The latter was a fellow-pupil of Drupad and was taught the Vedas and Vedāṅgas in this hermitage.¹⁸⁸⁹

The hermitage of Śukra was in the kingdom of Rājā Daṇḍa which was situated between the Vindhya mountain and Śaivala.¹⁸⁹⁰ Śukra lived in this place, accompanied by many students.¹⁸⁹¹ King Daṇḍa himself was one of Śukra's students.¹⁸⁹²

The hermitage of Rājarsi Tṛṇabindu¹⁸⁹³ was by the side of the great mountain Sumeru. In this place Brahmarshi Pulastya who was

¹⁸⁸⁰ Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 51st and 52nd sargas.

¹⁸⁸¹ Ibid., Uttarakāṇḍa, 51st sarga.

¹⁸⁸² Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 54th and 89th sargas.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Yuddhakāṇḍa, 125th sarga.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 90th sarga.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, 130th and 166th adhyāyas.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Uttarakāṇḍa, 79th sarga.

¹⁸⁹² Uttarakāṇḍa, 80th sarga.

¹⁸⁸³ Banaparba, 101st adhyāya.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 54th sarga.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Yuddhakāṇḍa, 125th sarga.

¹⁸⁹¹ Uttarakāṇḍa, 81st sarga.

¹⁸⁹³ Uttarakāṇḍa, 2nd sarga.

proficient in Vedic learning (swādhyāya) used to recite the Vedas. His son Viśrabā was like him proficient in the Vedas.

The hermitage of Agastya was on the bank of the Saraju near its confluence with the Ganges.¹⁸⁹⁴ When Rāma and his party visited it, Agastya, being informed of their arrival by one of his students, received them, being surrounded by his students.¹⁸⁹⁵ The Mahābhārata also refers to this hermitage which was visited by King Yudhiṣṭhira.¹⁸⁹⁶ The Raghuvamśam¹⁸⁹⁷ also refers to this hermitage and locates it near Pañchavaṭi on the banks of the Godāvarī.¹⁸⁹⁸ Bāṇa in his Kādambarī locates it in the Vindhyan forests and says that the hermitage has long been empty.¹⁸⁹⁹ Bhababhūti in his Uttara-Rāma-Charita¹⁹⁰⁰ also refers to this hermitage and locates it in the Daṇḍaka forest. "Here in this region are dwelling—with Agastya at their head—many scholars learned in the Sāmaveda. To acquire from them Upaniṣad lore, hither have I come" says Ātreya. She then explains why although studying at Vālmiki's she is compelled to travel southwards in search of instruction: because (1) she could not keep pace with Kuśa and Lava and (2) Vālmiki himself was much occupied with the composition of a new poem, the Rāmāyaṇa. Rājasekhara in his Karpūramañjuri¹⁹⁰¹ also refers to this hermitage.

The Daṇḍakāraṇya forest was studded with many such hermitages.¹⁹⁰² They are resounding with the incessant muttering of the Vedas.¹⁹⁰³ Thus in this forest there were the hermitage of Swarabhanga,¹⁹⁰⁴

¹⁸⁹⁴ Āraṇyakāṇḍa, 12th sarga. The Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa (IV. 41. 15) locates the hermitage of Agastya on a crest of the Mālābār range but a later stanza (34) of the same canto puts the dwelling of Agastya on Mount Kuñjara in Ceylon.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Āraṇyakāṇḍa, 12th sarga.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Canto XIII. 36.

¹⁸⁹⁷ Raghuvamśam, Canto XIII. 34-36.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., pp. 31-33.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Konow and Lanman's edition, p. 228.

¹⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., 1st sarga.

¹⁹⁰¹ Ibid., 5th sarga; Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśam (Canto XIII. 45) also refers to this hermitage.

¹⁹⁰² Baṇapārva, 96th, 97th, 98th and 99th adhyāyas.

¹⁹⁰³ C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., pp. 18-20.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Rāmāyaṇa, Āraṇyakāṇḍa, 1st, 8th and 11th sargas.

the hermitage of Sutighna,¹⁹⁰⁵ the hermitage of Maharṣi Idhmabāha,¹⁹⁰⁶ Nyagrodhāśrama,¹⁹⁰⁷ the hermitage of Bāmanadeva¹⁹⁰⁸ which Viśwāmitra made his own (otherwise known as Siddhāśrama),¹⁹⁰⁹ the hermitage of Maharṣi Mātanga¹⁹¹⁰ the hermitage of tāpasi Śabari on the western bank of the river Pampā¹⁹¹¹ and the hermitage of the seven sages called Saptajana.¹⁹¹²

Besides these there were the hermitages of Gautama in the forest near Mithilā, the capital of King Janaka,¹⁹¹³ the hermitage of Maharṣi Atri, not far off from Chitrakūta hill,¹⁹¹⁴ and the hermitage of Maharṣi Niśākara.¹⁹¹⁵

In the opening verses of the Mahābhārata, there is a reference to the hermitage of Vyāsa, the son of Satyabati and author of the Mahābhārata. In this hermitage "Vyāsa taught the Vedas to his disciples. Those disciples were the highly blessed Sumanta, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini of great wisdom and Paila of great ascetic merit." They were afterwards joined by Śuka, the famous son of Vyāsa.¹⁹¹⁶ After composing the Mahābhārata Vyāsa was thinking how he could teach it to his pupils. At last he taught it to Vaiśampāyana who recited it at the snake-sacrifice performed by Janmejaya.¹⁹¹⁷

In Vyāsa Samhitā¹⁹¹⁸ we find a reference to the hermitage of Veda-vyāsa at Benares where a body of sages asked the latter questions regarding the duties of the members of different social orders (varṇas). The answers are embodied in the Vyāsa Samhitā.

¹⁹⁰⁵ Lamāyana, Āraṇyakāṇḍa, 5th, 7th, 8th and 11th sargas; Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśam (Canto XIII. 41) also refers to this hermitage.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Ibid., Āraṇyakāṇḍa, 11th sarga.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Ibid., 13th sarga.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., 38th sarga.

¹⁹⁰⁹ Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 29th sarga.

¹⁹¹⁰ Ibid., Āraṇyakāṇḍa, 73rd sarga; Kiṣkiṇḍhyākāṇḍa, 11th sarga. The Kathāsarit-sāgara (Penzer, V. 202; VII. 144, 145, 149, 151, 152, 156) also refers to this hermitage.

¹⁹⁰¹ Ibid., Kiṣkiṇḍhyākāṇḍa, 13th sarga.

¹⁹¹³ Ibid.

¹⁹¹² Ibid., Bālakāṇḍa, 49th sarga.

¹⁹¹⁴ Ibid., Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 117th sarga.

¹⁹¹³ Ibid., Kiṣkiṇḍhyākāṇḍa, 61st sarga.

¹⁹¹⁶ Mahābhārata, XII. 328.

¹⁹¹⁷ Mahābhārata, Anukramapikādhya.

¹⁹¹⁸ Ch. I. śls. 1-2.

The Parāśara Samhitā¹⁹¹⁹ refers to the hermitage of the holy Vyāsa in the forest of Devadāru on the summit of the Himalayas where he was asked by a body of sages to relate to them the rules of good conduct, cleanliness and religious rites which may be beneficially followed and observed by men in this age of Kali.¹⁹²⁰ Vyāsa, well-versed in the Śrutis and Smṛtis asked them to go to his father Parāśara's hermitage at Badarikā. Then the sages with the holy Vyāsa at their head went to Parāśara and the latter's reply to their questions is embodied in the Parāśara Samhitā.¹⁹²¹

A beautiful description of the hermitage of Parāśara at Badarikā is preserved in the Parāśara Samhitā.¹⁹²² The Mahābhārata¹⁹²³ refers to Bhagwāna Viṣṇu's hermitage at Badarikā which was visited by Yudhiṣṭhir and his party. Bāṇa's Kādambarī¹⁹²⁴ and Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara¹⁹²⁵ also refers the hermitage of Badarikā.

There was also the hermitage of Devaśarmā whose favourite pupil was Bipula.¹⁹²⁶ Another hermitage was that of Śamika, one of whose pupils was Gouramukha.¹⁹²⁷ Another hermitage was that of Maharṣi Uddālaka one of whose pupils Kahoṛa read with him for many years and served him so faithfully that Uddālaka gave him his own daughter in marriage.¹⁹²⁸ The hermitage of Viśwāmitra was on the banks of the Kauśikā.¹⁹²⁹ The hermitage of Maharṣi Baka was resounding with the recitation of Vedic hymns.¹⁹³⁰ The hermitage of Subrata was in the land watered by the Dṛṣadbati.¹⁹³¹ There were also the hermitages of Saradbāna,¹⁹³² Chyaban,¹⁹³³ Śvetaketu,¹⁹³⁴ Maharṣi Sthūlaśira,¹⁹³⁵ Maharṣi

¹⁹¹⁹ Ch. I śl. 1.

¹⁹²¹ Ch. I śls. 45, and 18.

¹⁹²³ Banaparba, 144th adhyāya.

¹⁹²⁵ Penzer, Vol. I. pp. 58, 59, 79; Vol. II. p. 36.

¹⁹²⁸ Mahābhārata, Annāsana-parba, 40th adhyāya.

¹⁹²⁷ Ibid., Ādiparba, 41st adhyāya.

¹⁹²⁹ Ibid., Ādiparba 71st and 72nd adhyāyas; Banaparba, 109th adhyāya.

¹⁹³⁰ Ibid., Śalyaparba, 42nd adhyāya.

¹⁹²² Ibid., Ādiparba, 100th adhyāya.

¹⁹³⁴ Ibid., 131st adhyāya.

¹⁹²⁰ Ibid., śl. 2.

¹⁹²² Ibid., śls. 6-7.

¹⁹²⁴ C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 216.

¹⁹²⁶ Ibid., Banaparba, 131st adhyāya.

¹⁹³¹ Ibid., Banaparba, 90th adhyāya.

¹⁹³³ Ibid., Banaparba, 101st adhyāya.

¹⁹³⁵ Ibid., 133rd adhyāya.

Raivya,¹⁹³⁶ Yavakṛta,¹⁹³⁷ Baiśrabāṇa,¹⁹³⁸ Bṛṣaparbā,¹⁹³⁹ and Āstir-
 ṣeṇa.¹⁹⁴⁰ The Mahābhārata also refers to many hermitages on the banks
 of the Bhogabati,¹⁹⁴¹ the Godāvari,¹⁹⁴² Benwā,¹⁹⁴³ the Bhāgīrathī,¹⁹⁴⁴
 the Payoṣṇī¹⁹⁴⁵ the Narmadā,¹⁹⁴⁶ and the Viśwāmitra (river).¹⁹⁴⁷

The hermitage of Kāśyapa was situated on the bank of the Kauśikī,
 near Viśwāmitra's hermitage¹⁹⁴⁸ and Kāśyapa's son Ṛṣyaśringa used to
 study the Vedas under his father.¹⁹⁴⁹ The Kathāsaritsāgara¹⁹⁵⁰ also
 refers to this hermitage.

The hermitage of Kakṣasena was on the bank of the Viśwāmitra
 river.¹⁹⁵¹

We get, however, a somewhat detailed account of the hermitage of
 Mahārṣi Kaṇva. It was situated on the bank of the Mālīnī river¹⁹⁵² (*ante*,
 p. 59). The Mahābhārata has preserved a beautiful description of the natural
 beauty of the hermitage. The course of studies carried on here has been
 described in a previous chapter. The Kathāsaritsāgara¹⁹⁵³ narrates
 the story of king Chandrāvaloka who on reaching this hermitage in the
 course of a hunting expedition was advised by Kaṇva to give up
 "the cruel sport of death"; on the king's promise to renounce hunting
 Kaṇva gave his daughter Indībarapravā in marriage to the king. The
 Kathāsaritsāgara¹⁹⁵⁴ also narrates the story of Vyāghrasena, minister of
 king Mṛgāṅkadatta who came to this hermitage and was advised by
 Kaṇva not to be cowed down by misfortunes and was told that "those
 who endure with resolute hearts terrible misfortunes hard to struggle
 through, attain in this way the objects they most desire; but those
 others whose energies are paralysed by loss of courage, fail".

1936 Ibid., 134th and 135th adhyāyas.

1938 Ibid., 155th adhyāya.

1940 Ibid.

1942 Ibid., 88th adhyāya.

1944 Ibid.

1946 Ibid., 89th adhyāya.

1948 Ibid., 109th and 110th adhyāyas.

1950 Penzer, Vol. I, p. 161.

1953 Ibid., Ādiparba, 70th adhyāya.

1954 Ibid., p. 161; see also Ibid., III, p. 130.

1937 Ibid., 137th adhyāya.

1939 Ibid.

1941 Ibid., 24th adhyāya.

1943 Ibid.

1945 Ibid.

1947 Ibid.

1949 Ibid., 110th adhyāya.

1951 Mahābhārata, Banaparba, 89th adhyāya.

1953 Penzer, Vol. VII, pp. 89-90.

The Mahābhārata¹⁹⁵⁵ also refers to the hermitage in the Naimiṣa forest which was like a University. The presiding personality of the place was Saunaka to whom was applied the designation of kulapati, sometimes defined as the preceptor of ten thousand disciples.¹⁹⁵⁶ Saunaka attracted to Naimiṣa a vast concourse of learned men by his performance of a twelve years' sacrifice of which the most essential accompaniment was the discourses and disputations of learned men on religious, philosophical and scientific topics.

The wide range and variety of their studies are also indicated. There were specialists in each of the four Vedas; in sacrificial literature and art; in kalpasūtras; in the art of reciting the Saṃhitās, in ortheopy generally and in Śikṣā (phonetics) Chhandā (metrics) Śabda, Vyākaraṇa and Nirukta. There were philosophers well-versed in Ātma-vijñāna (science of the Absolute), in Dharma (the way to salvation) and in Lokyāta Vaiśeṣika. There were Logicians knowing the principles of Nyāya and of Dialectics (the art of establishing propositions, solving doubts and ascertaining conclusions). There were also specialists in the physical sciences and arts, for example, experts in the art of constructing sacrificial altars of various dimensions and shapes (on the basis of a knowledge of Solid Geometry); those who had knowledge of the properties of matter (drabyguṇa), of physical processes and their results, of causes and their effects; and zoologists having a special knowledge of monkeys and birds. It was thus a forest University where the study of every branch of learning known and developed in those days was cultivated.

Among other hermitages noticed by the Mahābhārata may be mentioned that in the forest of Kāmyaka on the banks of the Saraswatī.¹⁹⁵⁷ But a hermitage near Kurukṣetra¹⁹⁵⁸ deserves special notice for the interesting fact recorded that it produced noted women hermits. There "leading from youth the vow of brahmacharya a Brahmin maiden was crowned with ascetic success" and ultimately acquiring yogic powers she become a tapas-siddhā, while another lady, the daughter

¹⁹⁵⁵ Mahābhārata I. 1. 1.

¹⁹⁵⁷ III. 183.

¹⁹⁵⁶ See the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha.

¹⁹⁵⁸ IX. 54

not of a Brahmin but of a kṣatriya, a child not of poverty but of affluence, the daughter of a king, Sāṇḍilya by name, came to live there the life of celibacy and attained spiritual pre-eminence.

We have already referred (*ante*, pp. 57-58) to the hermitage of Ālāra Kālāma where Gautama learnt some philosophical doctrines.

The Tittira Jātaka, as we have already seen, refers to such a hermitage. Such schools of spiritual culture are also referred to as being composed of the standard number of 500 ascetics gathering round the personality of an individual hermit.¹⁹⁵⁹ We have, however, references to schools of larger sizes. We read of one which was so overcrowded with zealous pupils that the chief had to get other hermitages established by his seven senior pupils to relieve the congestion but to no purpose, for the original or parent hermitage continued to be crowded as before with aspirants after the religious life.¹⁹⁶⁰

The hermitages were generally established in the Himalayas. Sometimes, however, bands of ascetics would establish themselves near the centres of population in view of the facilities so afforded for attracting recruits. We read of Śvetaketu who after receiving his education first at Benares and then at Taxila comes in the course of his travel to a village where he meets a group of 500 ascetics who after ordaining him taught him all their "arts, texts and practices".¹⁹⁶¹

The Raghuvamśam of Kālidāsa has preserved a description of the hermitage of Atri¹⁹⁶² whose wife Anusūyā was very kind to Sītā¹⁹⁶³ whom she gave very wholesome advice on the virtues of chastity.¹⁹⁶⁴

Bāṇa in his Harṣa-Charita refers to the hermitage of Bhairavāchārya which was situated near the city of Thāṇeśwara in a Bel-tree plantation, contiguous with the woods on the banks of the Saraswatī.¹⁹⁶⁵ This sage is described by Bāṇa as "a second overthrower of Dakṣa's

¹⁹⁵⁹ Jātaka I. 141 etc.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Jātaka V. 128.

¹⁹⁶¹ Jātaka I. 406, 431; III. 143; IV. 74; III. 115; IV. 193; III. 235.

¹⁹⁶² Canto XIII. 50-52.

¹⁹⁶³ Ibid., Canto XII. 27; XIV. 14.

¹⁹⁶⁴ Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 118th adhyāya.

¹⁹⁶⁵ Harṣacharita—Cowell and Thomas, pp. 86-87.

sacrifice," "whose powers, made famous by his excellence in multifarious sciences, were like his many thousands of disciples, spread abroad over the whole sphere of humanity."¹⁹⁶⁶ King Puṣpabhūti visited this hermitage where the king and his retinue were welcomed by the sage and his students.¹⁹⁶⁷

Bāṇa in his *Kādambari* has given a graphic description of the hermitage of a great ascetic named Jābāli. "Its precincts were filled by munis entering on all sides, followed by pupils murmuring the Vedas, and bearing fuel, kuśa grass, flowers and earth."¹⁹⁶⁸ "The young brāhmaṇas were eloquent in reciting the Vedas; the parrot-race was garrulous with the prayer of oblation that they learnt by hearing it incessantly..... Leafy huts were being begun; courts smeared with paste and the inside of the huts scrubbed. Meditation was being firmly grasped, mantras duly carried out, Yoga practised and offerings made to woodland deities. Brahminical girdles of muñja grass were being made, bark garments washed, fuel brought, deer-skins decked, grass gathered, lotus-seed dried, rosaries strung and bamboos laid in order for future need. Wandering ascetics received hospitality and pitchers were filled."¹⁹⁶⁹ "Here the performance of śrāddha rites was taught; the science of sacrifice explained;¹⁹⁷⁰ the śāstras of right conduct examined; good books of every kind recited; and the meaning of the śāstras pondered."¹⁹⁷¹ After speaking of Jābāli's penance Bāṇa observes: "Happy is the hermitage where dwells this king of brāhmaṇas. Nay rather happy is the whole world in being trodden by him who is the very Brahmā of earth: Truly these sages enjoy the reward of their good deeds in that they attend him day and night with no other duty, hearing holy stories and even fixing on him their steady gaze, as he were another Brahmā. Happy is Saraswatī who, encircled by his shining teeth and ever enjoying the nearness of his lotus mouth,

¹⁹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 87-88.

¹⁹⁶⁸ *Kādambari*—C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 38.

¹⁹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁹⁷⁰ The *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bālakāṇḍa, 14th sarga) refers to men versed in Yajña-śāstra who are constructing altars on the occasion of the celebration of a sacrifice by Daśaratha who was desirous of sons.

¹⁹⁷¹ *Kādambari*—C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 39.

dwells in his serene mind, with its unfathomable depths and its full stream of tenderness, like a hamsa on the Mānasa lake. The four Vedas that have long dwelt in the four lotus-mouths of Brahmā, find here their best and most fitting home. All the sciences which became turbid in the rainy season of the Iron age, become pure when they reach him, as rivers coming to autumn. Of a surety holy Dharma, having taken up his abode here, after quelling the riot of the Iron Age, no longer cares to recall the Golden Age."¹⁹⁷²

Hien Tsang also refers to such forest hermitages as seats of learning. The hermitage of Jayasena as described by him has already been referred to (*ante*, pp. 171—72). We are thus told of another hermitage : "On the west of the city (probably Lahore) on the north side of the road, there is a great forest of An-lo (Āmra) trees ; in this forest dwelt a brāhmaṇa of 700 years who in appearance was but thirty years old. His form and complexion were perfect. His understanding was of a divine character ; his reasoning powers, superabundant. He had thoroughly investigated the *Chung and Pih śāstras* (the *Prāṇyamula* and the *Śataśāstra*) ; he was eminent in the study of the Vedas and the other books. He had two followers, each of whom was aged 100 years or more..... Here he (Hien Tsang) remained for one month studying the *Sūtras*, the *Peh-lun* (*Śataśāstra*), the *Kwang-peh-lun* (*Śataśāstra vāipulyam*). The author of this work (i. e., Deva Bodhisattva) was a disciple of Nāgārjuna who himself having received the doctrines of his master explained them with clearness."¹⁹⁷³

§ 4. SCHOOLS ATTACHED TO HINDU TEMPLES.

Besides these institutions there were also numerous schools attached to temples. One of the most interesting of such schools is mentioned in No. 202 of 1912¹⁹⁷⁴ which registers the gift of some land for the maintenance of a grammer-hall in the temple at

¹⁹⁷² Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁹⁷³ Beal—Life of Hien Tsang, pp. 74-76.

¹⁹⁷⁴ Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1912-13, p. 110,

Tiruvorraiṣūr called "Vyākaraṇa-dāna-vyākhyāna maṇḍapa" for the upkeep of teachers and pupils who should study grammar there, and for the worship of the god "Vyākaraṇa-dāna-perumal" (i. e., Śiva) who in that very maṇḍapa was pleased to appear before Pāṇini for fourteen continuous days and to teach him the first fourteen aphorisms (with which Pāṇini's grammar begins) known as the Maheśwara sūtras. In this temple Śaiva religion and philosophy (Śivadharmā and Siddhānta) were also taught. This famous school of grammar is referred to in other later records. No. 110 of 1912, assigned to the thirteenth year of Sundara Pāṇḍya-deva III, registers an agreement by which the residents of Pularkottan submit to a special tax levied in the northern and southern divisions of Tiruvorraiṣūr for maintaining the same historic maṇḍapam and other similar buildings of the temple. No. 201 of 1912 in the thirty-eighth year of Kulottuṅga Chola III, registers the gift of a village for the same grammar-hall and refers to the king's declaration making the village rent-free. No. 120 of 1912 again registers the gift of a village and some gold ornaments to the god of the temple by king Kulottuṅga Chola III.

Similarly No. 182 of 1915¹⁹⁷⁵ refers to the establishment of a school, a hostel for students and a hospital in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa of the Venkateśwara Perumāl temple at Tirukkuḍal by the royal grant of Virarājendra-deva (1062 A. D.). In this school were taught the Vedas, śāstras, grammar, Rūpavatāra (probably name of a grammatical work recently discovered) etc.

We find reference to another school¹⁹⁷⁶ attached to the Nāgeśwara temple at Kumbakonam which taught among other subjects the Mimāṃsā philosophy of the school of Prabhākara, thus proving that even courses of study which were not in strict accord with the views of the founder of the temple were not regarded with disfavour.

An inscription dated 153 Saka (=1068 A. D.) records a royal grant for the feeding and clothing of the students of the local Siddheśwara temple.

¹⁹⁷⁵ Ibid., for 1916, p. 119.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Ibid., for 1912, p. 651.

Another inscription dated 94 Saka (=1093 A. D.) records a grant for feeding pupils of the local temple.

Another inscription dated 132 Saka (=1072 A. D.) mentions twelve teachers, (vyākhyātā) in the local Kriyāśakti temple.

Another inscription mentions a Vyākhyānaśālā as built near a Śaiva temple (Epigraphica Indica, Vol. II. p. 310).

THE SANSKRIT COLLEGE AT ENNĀYIRAM.

Reference to an educational institution with an attached hostel for students is to be found in an inscription¹⁹⁷⁷ of the time of Rājendra Chola I (1018-1035 A. D.). It records that in order to assure success to the arms of the above king, the village Assembly made an endowment to the Lord in the temple of Rāja-rāja-vaṇṇagara, mainly intended for maintaining a hostel and a college for Vedic study. In the college there were 340 students who resided in the hostel attached thereto where the following arrangements were made for feeding them :—

(a) Six nāli of paddy was allotted to each of the following students per day :—

- (1) Seventy-five studying the R̥gveda.
- (2) Seventy-five studying the Yajurveda.
- (3) Twenty studying the Chāndoga Sāma.
- (4) Twenty studying the Talavakāra Sāma.
- (5) Twenty studying the Vājasenīya.
- (6) Ten studying the Atharva.
- (7) Ten studying the Baudhāyana Gṛhyakalpa and Gaṇa.
- (8) Forty studying Rūpāvatāra (probably name of a grammatical work recently discovered).

(b) One kurūṇi and two nāli of paddy were allotted to each of the following students per day :

- (1) Twenty-five learning the Vyākaraṇa.
- (2) Thirty-five learning the Prabhākara and
- (3) Ten persons learning the Vedānta.

The students were further encouraged in their studies by the present

of half a kalañju of gold to each one of them. The Instructive staff comprised the following :—

Three to teach the Ṛgveda.

Three to teach the Yajurveda.

One to teach the Chāndoga.

One to teach the Talavakāra Sāma.

One to teach the Vājasenīya.

One to teach the Baudhāyāniya Gṛhya and Kalpa and Kāṭhana.

One to teach Vyākaraṇa.

One to teach the Pravākara.

One to teach the Vedānta.

The fee attached to each chair which is given in detail and the allowances granted to the students described above, enable us to judge of the relative importance attached to the different subjects in this period. The teacher of Vedānta, for instance, got a *tuni* of paddy more per day than the teacher of Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṃsā.¹⁹⁷⁸ It is no less interesting to note that the teachers in some of the subjects were paid according to what economists call the "piece-work" system. Thus the teacher of Vyākaraṇa was paid one Kalañju of gold per adhyāya taught.

ANOTHER SANSKRIT COLLEGE IN S. INDIA.

Similarly, inscription No. 176 of 1919 refers to another Sanskrit College with 260 students on the rolls. The Instructive staff comprised the following :

Three to teach the Ṛgveda.

Three to teach the Yajurveda.

One to teach the Sāmaveda.

One to teach the Chāndoga.

¹⁹⁷⁸ Ibid., for 1918, pp. 145f.

One to teach the Talavakāra.

One to teach the White Yajurveda.

One to teach Mīmāṃsā.

One to teach Baudhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra.

One to teach Satyāshāḍha Sūtra.

Here were also taught the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, Vyākaraṇa, Rūpavatāra, Vedānta and the Vaikhāṇasa śāstra.¹⁸⁷⁹

This institution was maintained out of the endowment of 72 *veli* of land yielding annually 12000 *kalam* of paddy, out of which 9,525 *kalam* was reserved for this College. This land of 75 *veli* was free from rent and the teachers and the students enjoyed special exemptions.¹⁸⁸⁰ It may also be noted that the teachers here received four *kalam* of paddy daily as against one at Eṇṇāyiram.

THE STHĀNAGUNDŪRU AGRAHĀRA.

Another inscription at Taldagunḍy No. 103¹⁸⁸¹ belonging probably to the 12th century A. D. records that in the Sthānagundūru Agrahāra "were professors skilled in medicine, in sorcery (or magic), in logic, in poetry, in the art of distorting people by incantation, in poetry, in the use of weapons, in sacrificing.....and in the art of cookery to prepare the meals. While its groves put to shame the groves of Nandana, such was the glory of that great agrahāra that all the surrounding country prayed to be taught in the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas, the three rival divisions of Mīmāṃsā, the tarka and other connected sciences, the eighteen great Purāṇas, the making of numerous verses of praise, the art of architecture, the arts of music and dancing and in the knowledge of all the four divisions of learning which were possessed by the brāhmaṇas of the Sthānagundūru agrahāra." The four divisions of learning mentioned in the passage imply Vārttā as one of them, so that the agrahāra was the repository not only of sacredotal learning but also of the secular arts and sciences.

¹⁸⁷⁹ This seems to be the first epigraphic evidence of priest-craft as a regular subject of instruction.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Madras Ep. Rep. for 1919, p. 96.

¹⁸⁸¹ L. Rice—Mysore Inscriptions, p. 197.

THE SANSKRIT COLLEGE AT DHAR.

Another great educational establishment was the famous college for Sanskrit studies at Dhar established by King Bhoja Paramāra (c. 1010-1055). Col. Luard and Mr. Lele in "The Paramāras of Dhar and Malwa" give us interesting details about this college. In this college Sanskrit aphorisms on various subjects were inscribed on stone. A drama composed by the Gauda Brahmin Madana, commemorating the victory of his patron Arjunabharman Paramāra over the king of Gujrat was also inscribed on slabs. When the college was converted into a mosque by the Moslem conquerors all these slabs of stone were used for flooring and are now so rubbed over that almost nothing inscribed thereon is now legible. Madana's drama, however, has been deciphered and edited in *Epigraphica Indica*, VIII. This drama, we are told, was staged in the college on the occasion of a spring festival. Close to this college there is an old well called Akkal-kūvi or 'well of wisdom'; and it reminds us of the famous Chandra's well in Nālandā Vihāra and of the time when learned men who studied in this college and held disputations in its hall, drank water from this well and advanced in wisdom and knowledge. This Sanskrit college was known as Sarasvatī-saḍana or Bhārati-bhuvana and still subsists as the Kamāl Maula Mosque.

That such centres of learning flourished in the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara late in the fifteenth century is known to us. Mr. Sewell¹⁸⁸² observes: "Here and there (in the city of Vijayanagara) were wonderfully carved temples and fanes to Hindu deities, with Brahminical colleges and schools attached to the more important amongst the number."

§5. THE GHATIKĀS.

The South Indian inscriptions refer to various other educational institutions. Thus Tālaguṇḍa Pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman refers to an institution known as the Ghatikā at Kāñchipura patronised

by the Western Kṣhatrapas. We are also told that a brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarman by name entered with his teacher Vīraśarman this ghatikā with a view to acquire mastery over all the sacred lore.¹⁹⁸³ From the Velūrpālayam plates we learn that this ghatikā was captured by the Pallava King Skandhaśiṣya from the Western satrap Satyasena.¹⁹⁸⁴ As a result of this political turmoil the ghatikā had to suspend its work for a time and hence the lamentation of Mayūraśarman :

“Kaliyugesmin aho bata kṣhatrāt pipelavā vipratā yāta
Brahmasiddhiḥ kṣhatrādhinā.”

“Alas! although they work ever so hard, the final fruits of Brahminical learning depend for their realisation, on the mood of the kṣhatriyas.” The Kāśakudi plates of Nandivarman refers to such a ghatikā where he had all the four Vedas discussed and their injunctions explained.¹⁹⁸⁵ We find many other references to such institutions in the South Indian inscriptions.¹⁹⁸⁶

§ 6. HOSTELS, MESSES AND HALLS FOR STUDENTS.

The Jātakas¹⁹⁸⁷ clearly prove that the students had a common mess. Hostels for students are mentioned in many South Indian inscriptions. Inscription No. 182 of 1915¹⁹⁸⁸ refers to a hostel (and a hospital) for students of the school attached to the Venkateśwara Perumāl temple at Tirukkuḍal established by the royal grant of Virarājendradeva (1062 A. D.) In this hostel the students were provided with food, bathing oil on Saturdays and with oil for lamps. The staff and establishment for the school-hostel and hospital comprised one physician, one surgeon, two servants who fetched drugs, supplied fuel and did other services for the hospital, two maid-servants for nursing the patients (for whom there were fifteen beds) and one

¹⁹⁸³ Prabhasanam nikhilam. Dr. Kielhorn incorrectly reads nikhilām and takes it with ghatikām making no sense.

¹⁹⁸⁴ Ep. Ind., VII.

¹⁹⁸⁵ South Indian Inscriptions, II. 349 and 356.

¹⁹⁸⁶ Ep. Ind., III. 36; IV. 193; VI. 241; Ep. Carnatica III. 103; V. 173; VII. 197.

¹⁹⁸⁷ IV. 391; I. 317.

¹⁹⁸⁸ Madras Ep. Rep., for 1916, p. 119.

general servant for the hostel and the hospital. Another inscription¹⁰⁸⁹ which comes from Paṇaiyavaram refers to a hostel where there was provision for an oil bath for the students every week. Similarly No. 343 of 1917 refers to a hostel attached to a temple where provision was made for feeding 506 brāhmaṇas and the Śrivaishnavas. The number probably included the 340 students of the Sanskrit College at Enṇāyiram. It is stated in the inscription that the members of the Village Supervision Committee were made responsible for the daily supply of the firewood required for the hostel. The husking of paddy for the hostel was to be done at the rate of two measures of rice per five measures of paddy. It is further stated that brāhmaṇa merchants were lent some money by the village Assembly, the interest on which was paid by them in kind, in the shape of supplying sugar and other necessities; and half the surplus quantity of clarified butter, milk and curds left after meeting the requirements of worship was made over to the hostel. Brahmin bachelors were appointed as watermen and as cooks for the hostel. Buddhist monasteries like Nālandā and Vikramaśīlā (as we shall see later on) had satras (for students) attached to them. Side by side with these hostels and messes we find also the existence of halls for students. Sussala, the wife of Rilhana, the chief minister of king Jayasimha of Kashmere (1128—49 A. D.) constructed *halls for students*.¹⁰⁹⁰

§7. THE TOLS.

Other schools of Sanskrit learning were the tols. It generally consists of a thatched chamber in which the paṇḍita (teacher) and his students met and a collection of mud huts round a quadrangle in which the students lived in the simplest manner. The huts were built and repaired at the expense of the paṇḍit. The paṇḍita provided the pupils with shelter, free tuition, and food and clothes they obtained from him and also from the rich men of the locality and by begging at the chief festivals.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Ibid., No. 323 of 1917.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Rājatarāṅgi, VIII. 2416; Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. II. p. 187.

Sometimes in a town of special sanctity or even of political importance, numbers of such tols were established side by side and constituted a kind of University. Examples of these are Benares and Nadiā. Nadiā survived the shock of the Muhammadau invasion under Bakhtyar and during the Mediæval period taught a number of subjects e. g., (1) Logic, (2) Smṛti, (3) Jyotiṣa, (4) Grammar, (5) Kāvya, and (6) Tantra. But the greatest achievements of the University were in the field of Logic. Dialectical discussions were held specially at a festival and the ambition of the student was to gain success by adroit and hair-splitting arguments. Professor Cowell, who visited the schools at Nadiā in 1867 says: "I could not help looking at these unpretending lecture-halls with a deep interest, as I thought of the Paṇḍits lecturing there to generation after generation of eager, inquisitive minds. Seated on the floor with the "corona" of listening pupils round him, the teacher expatiates on those refinements of infinitesimal logic which make a European's brain dizzy to think of, but whose labyrinth a trained Nadiā student will thread with unflinching precision."¹⁹⁹¹

Among its famous teachers may be mentioned the names of Abdihodha Yogī who is said to have founded there the first school of Logic and Vāsudeva Sārbabhauma. Its distinguished alumni are Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the author of the *Didhiti* and the commentary on *Gautamasūtra*, Raghunandan, the most renowned teacher of Law in Bengal, Kṛṣṇānanda, the famous Tāntric philosopher and Śrī Chaitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava leader of the sixteenth century.

§ 8. THE TAMIL ACADEMY.

Another educational institution though of a different type altogether was the Tamil Academy or Sangam.¹⁹⁹² The first Academy was held at Mādurā, the second at Kavāṭapuram and the third at Uttar Mādurā. These were associations of learned men summoned by kings from time to time to set the standard in Tamil style, to regulate state

¹⁹⁹¹ Quoted in Nadiā Gazetteer (Bengal District Gazetteer No. 24), 1916, p. 182.

¹⁹⁹² M. Śrīnivāsa Aiyangar—Tamil Studies.

patronage and to set the stamp of approval on works conforming to the standard. They remind us of the Babylonian Academy (the Metibta) which convoked a general Assembly (the Kalla) twice a year, when a treatise previously announced was brought and discussed. Among the titles bestowed by the Tamil Sangam we find Āśiriyar (Sanskrit, Ācārya) Pulavar (paṇḍita) and Kavi-chakravartī (prince of poets). It also made gifts of land and money. The Padiṟupattu states that Kaṇṇanār got five hundred villages, Kāppiyanār ten lacs of rupees and Nacchellai one lac of gold coins and solid gold for jewels.

§ 9. LITERARY EXAMINATIONS.

Rājaśekhara¹⁹⁹³ who lived about 880—920 A. D. says that "the king-poet should have a special chamber for testing literary compositions. The chamber should have sixteen pillars, four doors and eight turrets. The pleasure-house should be attached to this chamber. In the middle of the chamber there should be an altar one hand high with four pillars and jewelled floor. Here the king should take his seat. On its northern side should be seated Sanskrit poets and behind them Vaidikas, Logicians, Paurāṇikas, Smārtās, physicians, astrologers and such others; on the eastern side the Prākṛta poets, and behind them actors, dancers, singers, musicians, bards and such others; on the western side vernacular poets and behind them painters, jewel-setters, jewellers, gold-smiths, carpenters, black-smiths and such others; and on the southern side Paisācha poets and behind them paramours, courtesans, rope-dancers, jugglers, wrestlers and professional soldiers."¹⁹⁹⁴

In another place Rājaśekhara¹⁹⁹⁵ says that "the king should hold assemblies for the examination of the works of poets. He should patronise poets, become the Savāpati (President) like the ancient kings Vāsudeva, Śatabāhana, Śūdraka and Sāhasāṅka, and honour and give donations to the poets whose works stand the test. Assemblies of learned men

¹⁹⁹³ Kābyamīmāṃsā in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Text, pp. 54-55.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Ibid., Introduction, p. XX.

¹⁹⁹⁵ Ibid., Text, p. 55.

(Brahmasabhās) should be held in big cities for examining poetical and scientific works; and the successful candidate should be conveyed in a special chariot (Brahmaratha) and should be crowned with a fillet. Such assemblies for examining in poetry were held in Ujjainī. Kālidāsa, Menṭha, Amara, Rūpa, Sūra, Bhārabi, Harichandra and Chandragupta were examined here. Pātaliputra was the centre for examinations in sciences. It was after passing from here that Upavarṣa, Varṣa, Pāṇinī, Piṅgala, Vyādi, Vararuchi, and Patañjali got fame as śāstrakāras."¹⁹⁹⁶

§10. THE MAṬHAS.

We have already seen that in the Buddhist system of education it was the monastery, which was the principal centre of learning. Monasteries have never had such an important place in Hinduism as in Buddhism but they have existed and are still to be found. From Amarakoṣa¹⁹⁹⁷ we learn that a maṭha was a hostel or hall for students. Teachers are also mentioned in connection with them. Thus inscription Nos. 205 of 1913 and 371 of 1911 refer to Vāgiśwara Paṇḍita, No. 477 of 1912 refers to Nirvāṇadeva and Nellore No. 525 mentions Dattātreyaswāmin "the excellent guru."

(i) ŚAIVA MAṬHAS.

The earliest monasteries or maṭhas of which we have clear record in epigraphy, are those associated with Jñāna-Sambandha (seventh century A. D.) which in the next few centuries had branches in numerous tracts of the Chola and Pāṇḍya countries. Hiuen Tsang has recorded that the Śaiva anchorites lived in maṭhas which were probably copied from the Buddhist Vihāras. One inscription registers the gift to a temple of a maṭha in the western street for reciting the Veda.¹⁹⁹⁸ Another refers to the maṭha of Āṇḍār Sundaraperumal at Kāñchipuram.¹⁹⁹⁹ A third inscription registers a house and a house-garden for purposes of a maṭha, together with some land mortgaged to it as a guarantee for the regular supply of rice.

¹⁹⁹⁶ Ibid., Introduction, p. XXI.

¹⁹⁹⁸ Madras Ep. Rep. 1908-09, p. 125.

¹⁹⁹⁷ Maṭhaschchātrādi-nīlayaḥ.

¹⁹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 123.

The succession of the pupils (of the donee) shall enjoy the maṭha as long as the Sun and the Moon exist. No. 181 of 1912 refers to a maṭhapati, who is an important functionary frequently appearing on temple councils in later records. No. 509 of 1912 records the sale of land belonging to a temple for a maṭha.²⁰⁰⁰ Another important maṭha was that of Mahāvratins mentioned in No. 423 of 1914.²⁰⁰¹ An inscription of Amoghavarṣa refers to the existence of five maṭhas one of whose donees was surnamed Traividya, showing that these were the seats of orthodox Hinduism and Vedic learning. Inscriptions Nos. 212 and 269 of 1911 refer to a maṭha built in honour of Midadudayār in the second year of King Āditya Chola I of Tanjore. Inscriptions Nos. 127 and 132 of 1912 and 373 of 1913 refer to the foundation at Tiruvāriyūr of a maṭha by a Brahmin lady of Mercara. Inscription No. 504 of 1909 refers to a maṭha at Karungulam. Inscription No. 119 of 1911 refers to the foundation of another maṭha in honour of Iṣwaradeva by one of his lady-disciples. From the Mysore Inscription we get a glimpse of the universal range of studies carried on in the maṭhas at Belgame which were mostly founded by Kālāmukha ascetics from Kashmere. In the Koḍiya maṭha instruction was given in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, grammar of Kumāra, Pāṇini and Śākatāyana, Śabdānuśāsana and other works; the six Darśanas, the Yoga-sūtras of Lakula, Patañjali and others; the eighteen Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, Kāvya, Nātakas and other śāstras.²⁰⁰² The third pontiff of this maṭha was proficient in Siddhānta, Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, Kāvya, Nātika, Bharata-śāstra and other sciences connected with Sūhitya and in Jainism, Lokayāta, Buddhism and Lakula Siddhānta. Another pontiff was not only well-versed in Vedānta, Siddhānta, Āgama etc. but was also clever in explaining the origin of words and in devising new metres. There were many under him who observed the vow of studentship for life. Other such maṭhas in Belgame were the Pañchalīṅga maṭha, the Pañchamaṭha, the Hiraṇyamaṭha and the Tripurāntaka, all of which find mention in the epigraphs of the twelfth century. The

²⁰⁰⁰ Madras Ep. Rep. 1913, p. 57.

²⁰⁰¹ Ibid., 1915, p. 42.

²⁰⁰² Epigraphica Carnatica. VII, Sk. 102.

educational character of these maṭhas is clear also from the reference in one of the inscriptions to the Koḍiyamaṭha as "our hereditary Gurukula" (seat of learning).

A series of epigraphic records in South India relates to maṭhas connected with Śaivism which grew in power and popularity under the Chola Kings. No. 467 of 1908 refers to a maṭha called Tiruvāgiśam-Rājendraśolan at Tirucchattimuram and another maṭha at Śembaikkudi.²⁰⁰³ Other maṭhas connected with the Śivayogins or Maheśwaras are mentioned in Nos. 164, 177, 402 and 583 of 1908. Rājendra Chola set up images of some Śaiva saints and a maṭha at Tanjore. There were Śaiva maṭhas in Kovilūr in the Trichinopoly district and in Maḍipaḍu in the Guntūr district²⁰⁰⁴ and at Kariśūḷḍamangalam on the Tāmraparṇī river. The mismanagement and misappropriation of the revenues of the last maṭha by one of the managers led to the dismissal of the recalcitrants after due enquiry and to the handing over of the properties to the Venkaṭāchalapati temple of the place, subject to certain restrictions as regards the audit of accounts and the general maintenance of the maṭha.²⁰⁰⁵ Other Śaiva maṭhas were founded by Tirujñāna Sambandha and his followers, one of which was at Tiruvānaikāval. It was known as the maṭha of 48,000 (villages or families) which was later superseded by that of Śaṅkarācārya, apparently a branch of that at Kāñchipuram.

The Pillar Inscription at Malkāpuram in the Guntūr taluk of the Guntūr district²⁰⁰⁶ records that Viśveśvara-Śivācārya of the Gauḍa country, a highly learned scholar and religious leader used one of the many gifts bestowed on him by the Kākatīya kings to found at Mandaram (the Mandadam) monastery, a feeding house, schools of students of Śaiva Puritans, together with a maternity and a hospital. Three teachers were appointed for teaching the three Vedas and five for Logic, Literature and the Āgamas. There were also appointed one doctor and one accountant (kāyastha). For the maṭha and feeding house were provided six brāhmaṇa servants. It was directed that the presiding teacher

²⁰⁰³ Madras Ep. Rep., 1908-09, p. 103.

²⁰⁰⁴ Madras Ep. Rep. No. 576 of 1916.

²⁰⁰⁵ Madras Ep. Rep., No. 187 of 1917.

²⁰⁰⁶ Ibid., for 1917, p. 122.

appointed to supervise these charities should be liable to removal for neglect of duty or misconduct by the entire Śaiva community (sāntānikā). There are other inscriptions to show that the same strict regulations applied to Śaiva teachers appointed as heads of the maṭhas.²⁰⁰⁷

Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*²⁰⁰⁸ also refers to the establishment of innumerable maṭhas for Brahmins, Śaivas and Pāśupatas in Kashmere.

(ii) VAIṢṆAVA MAṬHAS.

References to Vaiṣṇava maṭhas are also to be found. No. 465 of 1909 assigned to Kālaśekhara I records a gift of two villages for a Vaiṣṇava maṭha, where learned brāhmaṇas from eighteen Vaiṣṇava countries are to be fed. An interesting series of inscriptions from the Kurnool district, assigned to the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. refers to a famous Vaiṣṇava maṭha named Golaki maṭha at Mannikoil which is stated to have wielded its spiritual influence over three lacs of villages under a succession of famous teachers. Inscriptions at Shermadeva²⁰⁰⁹ refer to Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva maṭhas flourishing side by side.

§ 11. VIDYĀPIṬHAS.

For the conversion of the common mass Śaṅkarācārya is said to have founded Vidyāpiṭhas with a great teacher presiding over each. One such was the Kāñchipuram Vidyāpiṭha. Others were at four important corners of India—Sārādā (Badarikā) in the North, Purī in the East, Dwārakā in the West and Sringeri in the South. In theory the Vidyāpiṭha was an expansion of the old Gurukulas but in practice it was modelled on the Śaiva maṭhas. Logic and Grammar were taught free as also Vedic and Vedāntic lore. Students were fed free of cost in most cases by liberal endowments made by the generous public. The Conjeveram Copper Plate of

²⁰⁰⁷ Ibid.; also Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 290f.

²⁰⁰⁸ I. 170, 195, 335; II. 135; III. 8, 460, 476; IV. 512, 696; V. 38, 244, 245; VI. 87, 88, 99, 104, 300, 304, 305, 307; VII. 129, 142, 149, 180, 182, 183, 214, 608, 961, 1678; VIII. 243, 246, 247, 673, 2401, 2408, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2426, 2431, 2433, 2434, 2439, 2443, 2447, 3316, 3350, 3354, 3356, 3359.

²⁰⁰⁹ Madras Ep. Rep. for 1916, Nos. 567, 579.

Vijayaṅḍa Gopāla²⁰¹⁰ records the grant of a village in Chingleput to the head of the maṭha of Kāñchipuram, when a follower of Śaṅkarācārya "was pleasing religious students by daily gifts of food and expounding to them treasures of the Vedānta". The grant was intended to cover the cost of feeding either 108 or 800 brāhmaṇas daily. The teachers and pupils of these Vidyāpīṭhas were often sent out among the remote villagers to win them to the ways of goodness and truth. Saṇṇyāsī Sureśwarācārya alias Madana Miśra, the renowned teacher of Mimāṃsā, is mentioned as the first successor of S'ankarācārya on the gaddi of the Sringeri maṭha. Mādhavācārya, prime minister of Bukka I of Vijayanagara and author of Sarvadarśanasamgraha was elected in 1331 A. D. the head of this Vidyāpīṭha.²⁰¹¹

§ 12. THE JAINA MONASTERIES.

The Jaina monasteries were built on the model of the Buddhist Vihāras (or monasteries) and there the members of the Order prosecuted their studies and became learned men. This is proved from the references to debates at important centres where Jaina monks known as Tīrthāṅkaras are said to have taken part in discussions. Hiuen Tsang refers to some discussions among Brahmins, Bhikṣus and Tīrthāṅkaras in some Buddhist monasteries. The Jaina monasteries were scattered in Behar, Gujrat and the Carnatic. Kumārapāla Chālukya of Anhilwad (c. 1143—1173) and his ministers are said to have built many Jaina Vihāras. The Tamil epics²⁰¹² give us a picture of Jaina monasteries at Kāveripattṇam, Uriyūr and Mādurā, filled with both monks and nuns, surrounded by high walls, painted red and overlooking little flower-gardens.

§ 13. THE BUDDHIST MONASTERIES.

We get a valuable account of innumerable Buddhist monasteries in India from the itineraries of many Chinese pilgrims who visited

²⁰¹⁰ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, No. 16.

²⁰¹¹ P. C. Roy.—History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. I. p. LXXVIII.

²⁰¹² Venkateśwara—Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I. p. 251.

India in the fifth and seventh centuries A. D. Their long, toilsome and dangerous journeys would hardly have been undertaken unless the fame of the Buddhist monasteries in India as places of learning had reached as far as China.

Fa-hsien who was in India between 339 and 414 A. D. makes frequent references to monasteries. In the country of Udyāna there were five hundred monasteries, all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle.²⁰¹³ In a country called Bhida (in the Punjab) there were many monasteries, containing in all ten thousand priests.²⁰¹⁴ In a country called Muttra or Mandor on the right and left banks of the Jumna there were twenty monasteries with some three thousand priests.²⁰¹⁵ Fa-hsien refers to three monasteries in Kapitha of which the monastery called Fire Domain was one.²⁰¹⁶ "Tradition says that near about this time the Shrine of the Garden of Gold in Śrāvastī was surrounded by ninety-eight monasteries, all inhabited by priests except one which was vacant".²⁰¹⁷

THE MṚGADĀBA MONASTERY.

Another seat of learning was the Isipatana or Mṛgadāba (Deer Park) Saṃghārāma, near Benares. A bath or washing was customary for the inmates of the Buddhist monasteries²⁰¹⁸ and accordingly we find here a plastered brick-lined reservoir or kuṇḍa with sloping sides, about seven feet square and five feet deep, with a flight of steps.²⁰¹⁹ Fa-hsien found here 1500 monks studying the Sammatīya branch of Hinayāna Buddhism. Hiuen Tsang gives a more detailed description of this place where he found 1500 monks all of the Sammatīya school. There were cloisters (kaṅkrama) in this Deer Park where the World-honoured used to walk. They are about two cubits wide, fourteen or fifteen cubits long and two cubits high, built with bricks.²⁰²⁰ I-Tsing visited this monastery²⁰²¹ and seems to have been much impressed by it, for says he: "I would sometimes direct my thoughts far away to the Deer Park."²⁰²²

²⁰¹³ Giles—The Travels of Fa-hsien, p. 11.

²⁰¹⁴ Ibid., p. 20.

²⁰¹⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

²⁰¹⁹ Arch. Surv. of India, Annual Report
for 1921-22, p. 44.

²⁰²² Ibid., XXIX.

²⁰¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

²⁰¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 27-28.

²⁰¹⁸ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 107.

²⁰²⁰ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 114.

²⁰²¹ Ibid., Introduction, XXXIII.

A MONASTERY AT PATNA.

In the city of Pāṭaliputra "by the side of king Aśoka's pagoda, a monastery under the Greater Vehicle was built, very imposing in appearance; and also one under the Lesser vehicle, the two together containing six to seven hundred priests, grave and decorous, each in his proper place,—a striking sight. Virtuous śramaṇas and scholars from the four quarters, wishing to investigate the principles of duty to one's neighbour all came to the latter monastery. There is resident in the former a brāhmaṇa teacher, who is named Mañjuśrī (after the famous Bodhisattva) and who is very much looked up to by the leading śramaṇas and religious mendicants under the Greater Vehicle throughout the kingdom."²⁰²³

THE JETAVANA MONASTERY.

In Fa-hsien's time the chief place for higher Buddhist education was the Jetavana monastery near Pāṭaliputra. 'There were chapels for preaching and halls for meditation, mess-rooms and chambers for monks, bath-houses, a hospital, libraries and reading rooms, with pleasant shady tanks and a great wall encompassing all. The libraries were richly furnished not only with orthodox Buddhist literature but also with Vedic or other non-Buddhistic works and with treatises on the arts and sciences taught in India at the time. The monastery was well-situated, being conveniently near the city, and yet far from the distracting sights and noises of the world. Moreover, the park afforded a perfect shade, and was a delightful place for walking in, during the heat and glare of the tropical day. It had streams and tanks of cool clear water; it was free from noxious stinging creatures; and it was a favourite resort of the good and devotional people of all religions.'²⁰²⁴

The city of Rājagṛha contained two monasteries.²⁰²⁵ "Where Buddha attained his Buddhahood (in the city of Gayā) there are three monasteries each with resident priests..... The strictness with which, while Buddha was still in the world, the holy brotherhood

²⁰²³ Giles—The Travels of Fa-hsien, p. 46.

²⁰²⁴ Watters—Yuan Chwang, I. 386.

²⁰²⁵ Giles—The Travels of Fa-hsien, p. 49.

observed their vows and disciplinary regulations and the gravity of their deportment when sitting, rising or entering an assembly, persist down to the present day."²⁰²⁶ In the city of Benares there are now two monasteries in the deer-forest, both with resident priests.²⁰²⁷

MONASTERY AT S'RĪ-PARVATA.

In the Deccan "there is a monastery dedicated to Kāśyapa Buddha made by hollowing out a great rock. It has five storeys in all; the lower being in the form of an elephant with five hundred stone chambers; the second in the form of a lion, with four hundred chambers; the third in the form of a horse with three hundred chambers; the fourth in the form of an ox with two hundred chambers; and the fifth in the form of a dove, with one hundred chambers. At the very top there is a spring of water which runs in front of each chamber, encircling each storey, round and round, in and out, until it reaches the bottom storey where, following the configuration of the excavations it flows out by the door. In all the priests' chambers, the rock has been pierced for windows to admit light, so that they are quite bright and and nowhere dark. At the four corners of these excavations the rock has been bored and steps have been made by which top can be reached....."²⁰²⁸

Dr. Beal thus discusses the situation of this monastery in his "Life of Hīnen Tsang": "The king (Sadvāna) prepared the cave-dwelling for him (Nāgārjuna) of which we have a history in the 10th book of the "Records." This cave-dwelling was hewn in a mountain called Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li i. e., Bhramarāgiri, the mountain of the black bee (Bhramarā=Durgā). Dr. Burgess has identified this mountain with the celebrated S'risailas, bordering on the river Kṛṣṇā called by Scheifner S'ripurvata. Doubtless it is the same as that described by Fa-Hien in the 35th Chapter of his Travels. He calls it the Po-lo-yue Temple, which he explains as "the Pigeon (Pārābata) monastery. But a more probable restoration of the Chinese symbols

²⁰²⁶ Ibid., p. 55-56.

²⁰²⁸ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

²⁰²⁷ Ibid., p. 61.

would be the Pārbatī or Parvata, monastery. The symbol *yue* in Chinese Buddhist translations is equivalent to *va* (or *vat*). We may therefore assume that the Po-lo-yue monastery of Fa-Hien was the Durgā monastery of Hiuen Tsang, otherwise called S'ri-parvata. This supposition is confirmed by the actual history of the place; for Hiuen Tsang tells us that after the Buddhists established themselves in the monastery, the brāhmaṇas by a stratagem took possession of it. Doubtless, when in possession, they would give it a distinctive name acceptable to themselves; hence the terms Bhramarā or Bhramarāba.²⁰²⁹

This spot 'S'ripārvata' is also referred to in the Ratnāvali²⁰³⁰ as being the place whence the Tāntric magician S'rikhaṇḍa Dāsa came to Kauśāmbī to teach Udayana the art of making flowers blossom at any season. In Bhababhūti's Mālatīmādhava²⁰³¹ frequent mention has been made of S'ripārvata which was the residence of the Tāntric priest Aghoraghaṇḍa, priestess Kapālakuṇḍalā, the Buddhist S'rāvikā Saudāmini and others. In the Kathāsaritsāgara²⁰³² we read of an ascetic who went to S'ripārvata and performed a course of asceticism there for propitiating S'iva. In Tibetan the mountain is called Dpal-gyi-ri (Fortune-her-mountain) which according to Tibetan authorities²⁰³³ was situated in Southern India where Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva (33 B. C.) spent his last days absorbed in deep meditation.

Hiuen Tsang thus writes about this Śrīparvata monastery: "The king Sadvāha.....tunnelled out this rock through the middle and built and fixed thereon (in the middle) a Saṃghārāma; at a distance of 10 *li*, by tunnelling, he opened a covered way (an approach). Thus by standing under the rock (not knowing the way in) we see the cliff excavated throughout and in the midst of long galleries (corridors) with eaves for walking under and high towers (turrets), the storeyed building reaching to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls with vihāras enclosed (united)..... From the high peak

²⁰²⁹ Introduction p. XXI.

²⁰³⁰ Act. II. Prabesaka.

²⁰³¹ Acts I, IX., X. etc.

²⁰³² Ch. LXXXIII.

²⁰³³ Tārānāth's Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 84.

of the mountain descending streamlets, like small cascades, flow through the different storeys, winding round the side-galleries and then discharging themselves without. Scattered light-holes illumine the interior (inner chambers)."²⁰³⁴ Neither Fa-Hien nor Hiuen Tsang personally visited the spot. It would seem to have been utterly deserted and waste even in Fa-hsien's time. This favours the record of its early construction in the time of Nāgārjuna (about the 1st century B. C.).²⁰³⁵

Fa-hsien refers to a monastery of the Greater Vehicle in Central India where he obtained copies and extracts of several sacred texts.²⁰³⁶ He stopped here for three years, learning to write and speak Sanskrit (or Pali) and copying out the Disciplines.²⁰³⁷ In the country of Tamluk he found twenty-four monasteries, all with resident priests. He stayed here for two years, copying out śāstras and drawing pictures of images.²⁰³⁸

Sung-yun (518 A. D.) refers to two monasteries to the north of the royal city of Udyāna country.²⁰³⁹ He also mentions another monastery in this country with three hundred priests and more.²⁰⁴⁰ In this country there was another monastery where formerly dwelt a śramaṇera who being constantly occupied in sifting ashes (belonging to the convent) fell into a state of spiritual ecstacy.²⁰⁴¹ He also refers to another monastery in this country with about eighty priests in it. He took up his quarters in a monastery in Gāndhāra.²⁰⁴²

Hiuen Tsang who was in India from 629-645 A. D. refers to the monastery of Kū-chi, in the extreme north-west, which was a resort "for men of eminence from distant lands, who were hospitably entertained by the king, officials and people."²⁰⁴³ The Buddhist brethern at at Srughna were lucid expounders of abstract philosophical doctrines and distinguished brethern from other lands came to them to reason out their doubts.²⁰⁴⁴ In Lamghan there were ten monasteries.²⁰⁴⁵

²⁰³⁴ Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. pp. 214-15.

²⁰³⁵ Ibid., p. 215 footnote.

²⁰³⁷ Ibid., p. 65.

²⁰³⁹ Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I. p. XCVI.

²⁰⁴⁰ Ibid., p. XCVII.

²⁰⁴² Ibid., CI.

²⁰⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 318.

²⁰³⁶ Giles—The Travels of Fa-hsien, p. 64.

²⁰³⁸ Ibid., p. 66.

²⁰⁴¹ Ibid., p. XCIX.

²⁰⁴³ Watters—Yuan Chwang I. 63.

²⁰⁴⁵ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 57.

In the town of Dīpaṅkara there was one.²⁰⁴⁶ Four or five *li* to the north of the town of Puṣkalābatī there was another monastery.²⁰⁴⁷ In the Udyāna country there were formerly 1400 monasteries with 18,000 priests;²⁰⁴⁸ but now all is desert and depopulated.²⁰⁴⁹ In the valley of Darīl in Udyāna, however, there was then one large monastery.²⁰⁵⁰ In Taxila there was another.²⁰⁵¹

THE JAYENDRA CONVENT.

In Kashmere there were formerly 500 monasteries but there are now only 100 with about 5000 priests.²⁰⁵² The most important of these was the *Che-ye-in-to lo* (Jayendra) convent. "Before noon he (the chief of the priests of that establishment) explained the Koṣa-śāstra. Afternoon he explained the Niyāya-anusāra-śāstra—after the first watch of the night he explained the Hetuvidyā śāstra. On these occasions all the learned men within the borders (of the kingdom) without exception, flocked together (to hear the discourse). The Master of the Law, following the words of his teacher, grasped thoroughly the entire subject—he penetrated all the obscure passages and their sacred mysteries completely".²⁰⁵³ "Then there was in the congregation certain priests versed in the doctrine of the great Vehicle—viz., Pi-shu-to-sang-ho (Viśuddhasiṃgha), Chin-na-fan-tu (Jinabandhu); and of the Sarvāstavādin school, the following: Su-kia-mi-to-lo (Sugatamitra), Po-su-mi-to-lo (Vasumitra); and of the school of the Mahāsaṅghikas, the following: Su-li-ye-ti-po (Sūryadeva), Chin-na-ta-lo-tu (Jinatrāta)".²⁰⁵⁴ "This country from remote times was distinguished for learning and these priests were all of high religious merit and conspicuous virtue as well as of marked talent and power of clear exposition of the doctrine; and though the other priests (i. e., of other nations) were in their own way distinguished, yet they could not be compared with these—so different were they from the ordinary class".²⁰⁵⁵ "Having halted here, first and last,

²⁰⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 60.

²⁰⁴⁸ Ibid.,

²⁰⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 66.

²⁰⁵² Ibid., p. 68.

²⁰⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 64.

²⁰⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁵¹ Ibid., p. 67.

²⁰⁵³ Ibid., p. 70.

²⁰⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

for two years and having studied the sūtras and the śāstras and paid reverence to the sacred traces the Master took his leave".²⁰⁵⁶

In Sakala there was one monastery with about a hundred priests. "In the old days Vasubandhu Bodhisattva here composed the treatise Shing-i-tai-lun".²⁰⁵⁷ In the kingdom of Chinapati there was a "convent called Tu-she-sa-na (?). Here there was a renowned priest named Pi-ni-to-poh-la-po (Vinitaprabha). He was of a good reputation and had mastered the three piṭakas. He had himself composed a commentary on the Pañchaskhanda śāstra and in the Nidyāmātrasiddhi-tridaśa śāstra. On this account the Master remained there fourteen months. He studied the Abhidharma śāstra, the Abhidharma-prakarapaśāsana-śāstra, the Nyāyadvāra-tarka-śāstra and others".²⁰⁵⁸ Then there was the Tāmasavana monastery with some 300 priests.²⁰⁵⁹

In the kingdom of Jālandhara there was "the Nagaradhana convent where there was an eminent priest called Chandravarmā who was thoroughly acquainted with the Tripiṭaka. On this account he (Hiuen-Tsang) rested here four months, studying the Prakaraṇa-pāda-bivāsa-śāstra".²⁰⁶⁰ In the kingdom of Mathurā there was a mountain monastery founded by the venerable Upagupta.²⁰⁶¹ In the kingdom of Matipura there were ten monasteries.²⁰⁶² "In this kingdom there was an eminent priest called Mitrasena, ninety years of age. He was a disciple of Guṇaprabha and deeply versed in the Tripiṭakas. The Master of the Law stopped with him half the spring and the summer following, studying the Tattvasatya-śāstra, the Abhidharma-Jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra and others."²⁰⁶³

In Kapitha there was one monastery.²⁰⁶⁴ In Kanauj there were 100 monasteries and 10,000 priests.²⁰⁶⁵ In the kingdom of Ayodhyā there were 100 monasteries with several thousand priests.²⁰⁶⁶ Hiuen Tsang²⁰⁶⁷ makes particular mention of one monastery in Ayodhyā where

²⁰⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 72.

²⁰⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 76.

²⁰⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 77.

²⁰⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 79.

²⁰⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁰⁶¹ Ibid., p. 85.

²⁰⁶² Ibid., p. 73.

²⁰⁶³ Ibid.

²⁰⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 81.

²⁰⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 82.

²⁰⁶⁷ Watters—Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. pp. 335-36.

Maitreya is reported to have communicated the materials of three Buddhist treatises²⁰⁶⁸ to Asanga while the latter was living in the monastery. In Prayāga there was one monastery.²⁰⁶⁹ In Kauśāmbī there were ten monasteries.²⁰⁷⁰ In the kingdom of Viśākhā there were about 20 monasteries and some 3,000 priests.²⁰⁷¹ In S'rāvastī there were 100 monasteries.²⁰⁷² In Rāmagrāma there was one monastery.²⁰⁷³ In Benares there were thirty monasteries and 2,000 priests.²⁰⁷⁴ In the kingdom of Magadha there were about fifty monasteries.²⁰⁷⁵ In Pātaliputra there were the Kukkutarāma and Tiladaka convents.²⁰⁷⁶

In the country of Hiranya there were ten monasteries and about 5,000 priests.²⁰⁷⁷ "Recently there was a frontier king who deposed the ruler of this country and bestowed the capital on the priests; in it moreover he built two convents each containing 1000 priests. There are two eminent brothers here, one called Tathāgatagupta, the other Kṣāntisimha, both belonging to the Sarvāstavādin school. Here the Master stopped one year and read the Vibhāsha and the Nyāya-anusāra, śāstras and others."²⁰⁷⁸

In the kingdom of Champā there were some ten monasteries with about 300 priests.²⁰⁷⁹ In the kingdom of Kajūghira there were six or seven monasteries with about 300 priests.²⁰⁸⁰ In Pauṇḍrabardhana there were about twelve monasteries.²⁰⁸¹ In Karṇasuvarṇa there were ten monasteries and 300 priests.²⁰⁸² Besides these there were in this country two monasteries "where they did not use either butter or

²⁰⁶⁸ These treatises are: Śaptadaśabhūmiśāstra-yogācārya, Sūtrālaṅkāra-ūlkā, and Madhyānta-vibhāga-śāstra.

²⁰⁶⁹ Beal—Life of Hiuēn Tsang, p. 90.

²⁰⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 91.

²⁰⁷¹ Ibid., p. 92.

²⁰⁷² Ibid., p. 92 footnote; compare Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 2.

²⁰⁷³ Beal—Life of Hiuēn Tsang, p. 96.

²⁰⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 98.

²⁰⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 101.

²⁰⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 102-03.

²⁰⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 127.

²⁰⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 128.

²⁰⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 131.

²⁰⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁰⁸² Ibid.

milk—this is the traditional teaching of Devadatta.”²⁰⁸³ In Samatata there were twenty monasteries with 3000 priests.²⁰⁸⁴ In the kingdom of Tāmralipti there were ten monasteries and a congregation of about 1000 priests.²⁰⁸⁵ I-Tsing²⁰⁸⁶ gives us a detailed description of Bha-ra-ha monastery²⁰⁸⁷ of Tāmralipti whose monks were strict observers of precepts. In this monastery there lived the famous Buddhist teacher Rahula-mitra. “He was then about thirty years old..... Every day he read over the Ratnakūṭasūtra which contains 100 verses. He was not only versed in the three collections of the scriptures but also thoroughly conversant with the secular literature on the four sciences. He was honoured as the head of the priests in the eastern districts of India.”²⁰⁸⁸ In Orissa there were about 100 monasteries and ten thousand priests or so²⁰⁸⁹ who studied the Great Vehicle.²⁰⁹⁰ In Kalinga there were about ten monasteries occupied by some 500 priests who studied the Law according to the Sthavira school.²⁰⁹¹ In southern Kośala there were 100 monasteries and 10,000 priests.²⁰⁹² In the kingdom of Andhra by the side of the capital there is a large monastery.²⁰⁹³ In Dhanakataka there was a monastery called Pūrvaśilā.²⁰⁹⁴ To the west of the capital resting against a mountain there is a monastery called Avaraśilā.²⁰⁹⁵ Hiuen Tsang heard that there were at that time in Ceylon 100 monasteries with 10,000 priests.²⁰⁹⁶ In Kongkanapura there were about 100 monasteries and ten thousand priests.²⁰⁹⁷ In Mahārāṣṭra there were about 100 monasteries and 5,000 priests.²⁰⁹⁸ Hiuen Tsang²⁰⁹⁹ makes particular mention of Ācāra’s monastery in Mahārāṣṭra where Dignāga, the Buddhist ‘Bull in discussion’ is said to have resided frequently. According to him, south of Kāñchipuram there was “a large monastery which was a rendezvous

²⁰⁸³ Ibid.

²⁰⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 133.

²⁰⁸⁷ Barahat or Varāha?

²⁰⁸⁹ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 134.

²⁰⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁰⁹³ Ibid., p. 136.

²⁰⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 146.

²⁰⁹⁹ Watters—Yuan Chwang, Vol. II. p. 129.

²⁰⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 132.

²⁰⁸⁶ Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 62-63.

²⁰⁸⁸ Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 62-64.

²⁰⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁰⁹² Ibid., p. 135.

²⁰⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 144.

²⁰⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 147.

of the most eminent men of the country." In Mālava there were about 100 monasteries and 20,000 priests who studied the Little Vehicle and belonged to the Sammatīya school.²¹⁰⁰ "The people of this country in their manners are polished and agreeable. They exceedingly love the fine arts. In all the five Indies, Mālava on the south-west and Magadha on the north-east alone have the renown of loving the study of literature, of honouring virtue (or goodness) and of polite language and finished conversation."²¹⁰¹ In the kingdom of Vallabhi there are about 100 monasteries and 6000 priests who study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatīya school.²¹⁰²

A MONASTERY IN PARVATA.

In the country of Parvata by the side of the capital there is a great monastery with about 100 priests, all of whom study the Great Vehicle.²¹⁰³ "It was here that Jinaputra master of śāstras, formerly composed the Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra-kārikā. Here also the Master of Śāstras Bhadraruchi and the Master of Śāstras Guṇaprabha, originally became disciples. Because this country had two or three leading priests whose claims for learning might serve for guidance, the Master of the Law stopped here for two years and studied the Mulāvidharma-śāstra and the Saddharma-sampārigrāha-śāstra and the Prasikṣā-satya-śāstra, as received in the Sammatīya school".²¹⁰⁴

MAHĀBODHI MONASTERY.

In Gayā, a king of Ceylon Meghabarṇa by name built with the permission of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta a monastery of three storeys, six halls and three towers, enclosed within a wall 30 or 40 feet high. The establishment is called Mahābodhi Saṃghārāma by Hiuen Tsang who saw it accomodating nearly "1000 ecclesiastics, all Mahāyānists of the Sthavira school".²¹⁰⁵ This Vihāra belonged to the Theravāda, yet adhered to the Mahāyāna.²¹⁰⁶ It was visited by I-Tsing who

²¹⁰⁰ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 148.

²¹⁰² Ibid., p. 149.

²¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 152—53.

²¹⁰⁶ Hiuen Tsang, III. p. 487 *Seq.*

²¹⁰¹ Ibid.

²¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 152.

²¹⁰⁵ Watters—Yuan Chwang, Vol. II.
p. 136.

worshipped here the image of the real face of the Buddha.²¹⁰⁷ He also refers to the miraculous power possessed by the Nāga Mahāmukilinda of this vihāra.²¹⁰⁸ For the purpose of announcing hours to the monastics there was a clepsydra in this monastery where a bowl is immersed sixteen times between morn and midday.²¹⁰⁹ This monastery was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Chiu in the middle of the seventh century who remained here for four years.²¹¹⁰ It was also visited by the Chinese pilgrims—Taou-le,²¹¹¹ Hiuen-Ta'i,²¹¹² Hiuen-hau,²¹¹³ Taou-sing,²¹¹⁴ and Yuan-hwui.²¹¹⁵ Mocha-deva, a Cochin-chinese also visited it and died here.²¹¹⁶ Samghavarmā, a man of Samarkand also visited it.²¹¹⁷ Hwui Lun, a Korean pilgrim otherwise called Prajñāvarmā also refers to this monastery.²¹¹⁸ It was also visited by the Chinese pilgrim Wu-hing.²¹¹⁹ During his residence here Atisa "thrice defeated the Tirthika heretics in religious controversy and thereby maintained the superiority of Buddhism over all other religions in Magadha".²¹²⁰ When Abhayakara Gupta was at the head of the Buddhist hierarchy of Magadha (that is, towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century) there were no less than one thousand monks at Mahābodhi as compared with three thousand at Vikramaśīlā and one thousand at Odantapuri.²¹²¹

TILDHAKA MONASTERY.

There was another monastery at Tiladhaka in Magadha.²¹²² It is referred to as Tildaka by Hiuen Tsang.²¹²³ I-Tsing mentions this monastery as two yojanas distant from Nālandā.²¹²⁴ Tildhaka has been

²¹⁰⁷ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. XXXII.

²¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 145.

²¹¹¹ Ibid., XXIX.

²¹¹² Ibid., XXX.

²¹¹⁴ Ibid., XXXI.

²¹¹⁵ Ibid., XXXIV.

²¹¹⁶ Ibid., XXXVII.

²¹²⁰ S. C. Das—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, p. 51.

²¹²¹ Phapindranāth Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 84, 157-58.

²¹²² Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 184.

²¹²⁴ Chavannes, Memoires, p. 146 note.

²¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

²¹¹⁰ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, Introduction, p. XXVIII.

²¹¹³ Ibid.

²¹¹⁸ Ibid., XXXII.

²¹¹⁷ Ibid., XXXVI.

²¹¹⁹ Chavannes, Memoires of I-Tsing, p. 144.

²¹²³ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 102-03;
see ante, p. 347.

identified with modern Tillāra, west of Nālandā.²¹²⁵ A famous Buddhist scholar and a Master of the Law Jñānachandra by name was in this monastery when I-Tsing visited it.²¹²⁶ This monastery was visited by another Chinese pilgrim Wu-hing.²¹²⁷ Near Tiladaha lived a teacher of Logic, from whom Wu-hing learned the logical systems of Jīna and Dharmakīrti etc.²¹²⁸

There was the Pan-da-na (Bandana) monastery, a spot where the great Nirvāṇa was preached by the Buddha.²¹²⁹ This is no doubt the monastery in Mukuta-bandhana in Kuśīnagara referred to in Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra.²¹³⁰

There was another monastery called the 'Temple of the Heavenly Kings' which was visited by 'two men who lived in Nepal and were the children of the wet-nurse of the Duke-Prince of Tibet'.²¹³¹

There was another monastery called the 'Sin-che Temple' in the Western country which was visited by the pilgrims Sin-chiu and Chi Hing both of whom lived and died there.²¹³² It was also visited by the Korean pilgrim Hwui Lun who lived here for five years.²¹³³

There was a monastery at Tāmralipti where the pilgrim Tang came and "resided for twelve years, having perfected himself in Sanskrit".²¹³⁴

There was another monastery at Tāmralipti where the pilgrim Hiuen-ta "remained for one year learning Sanskrit and practising himself in the śabda-śāstra".²¹³⁵

There was another monastery at Kuśīnagar called the 'Parinirvāṇa Temple' where the pilgrim Tang died.²¹³⁶

²¹²⁵ Cunningham—Ancient Geography of India, I. 456.

²¹²⁶ Ibid.

²¹²⁷ IV. 45; S. B. E., Vol. XI. p. 129.

²¹²⁸ Ibid., XXXIV.

²¹²⁹ Ibid., XXXVI.

²¹³⁰ Ibid., XL.

²¹³¹ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 184.

²¹³² Chavannes, Mémoires of I-Tsing, p. 144.

²¹³³ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 38.

²¹³⁴ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, Introduction, p. XXXIII.

²¹³⁵ Ibid., XXXV.

²¹³⁶ Ibid., XXXV.

Then there was the monastery called Tu-ho-lo (Tukhara Temple) which was visited by the Corean pilgrim Hwui Lun.²¹³⁷

There was another monastery called the Kapisa Temple which was also visited by the Corean pilgrim Hwui Lun.²¹³⁸ The priests of this establishment studied the Little Vehicle.²¹³⁹

Another monastery was called Kiu-lu-kia Temple. "It was two stages to the east of the Mahābodhi monastery. It was built long ago by a king of the Kiu-lu-ka country, a southern Kingdom (Kurukshetra country?)."²¹⁴⁰ "Recently" says the Korean pilgrim Hwui Lun, "a king called Sun-Army (Ādityasena) built by the side of the old temple another which is now newly finished".²¹⁴¹

Hwui Lun also refers to two monasteries called the Deer Temple and the Tchina (or China) Temple. The latter according to tradition was built by a Mahārāja called S'rigupta for the use of Chinese priests.²¹⁴²

Another Chinese pilgrim Tan-Kwong arrived at A-li-ki-lo (Arakan?) where he was reported to have found much favour with the King of that country who built for him, a monastery with books and images.²¹⁴³

Oukong another Chinese pilgrim visited (759-763 A. D.) Kashmere and took there the final vows of a Buddhist monk and spent fully four years engaged, as his itinerary tells us, in pilgrimages to holy sites and in the study of Sanskrit. Though he is said to have studied from day break to nightfall his diligence does not seem to have brought him much literary culture. This is curiously shown by the popular *apavramśa* forms in which he records the names of monasteries he specially singles out for notice. He mentions two Buddhist monasteries in Udyāna called Sukhāvati and Padmāvati.²¹⁴⁴ While Hiuen Tsang mentions only about one hundred convents in Kashmere, Oukong found more than three hundred.²¹⁴⁵

²¹³⁷ Ibid., XXXVI.

²¹³⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁴¹ Ibid.

²¹⁴² Ibid., XXXIX.

²¹⁴³ Ibid.

²¹³⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

²¹⁴² Ibid.

²¹⁴⁴ Levi and Chavannes—*L' Itinéraire d' Oukong*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1896, VI. pp. 341 Sqq.

MONASTERIES IN KASHMERE.

Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* also refers to a large number of monasteries in Kashmere. King Surendra of this country built in the country of the Darada a vihāra called Narendrabhabana²¹⁴⁶ and in his own kingdom built a vihāra called Saurasa.²¹⁴⁷ King Jalauka built the vihāra of Jalora.²¹⁴⁸ Kalhaṇa refers to the Dharmāranya vihāra in Vitastatra.²¹⁴⁹ King Jalauka also built the Kṛtyāśrama vihāra.²¹⁵⁰ Dr. Stein in his "Notes on Oukong's Account of Kashmere" has identified this vihāra with the "monaste'-re du mont ki-tche" visited by Oukong. King Juṣka built Juṣkapura with its vihāra.²¹⁵¹ Kalhaṇa refers to a vihāra at Kinnara-grāma.²¹⁵² Kalhaṇa refers to the burning by king Nara of thousands of vihāras.²¹⁵³ King Meghabāhana's queen Amṛtaprabhā built a vihāra called Amṛtabhavana.²¹⁵⁴ In his Notes on Oukong²¹⁵⁵ Stein has identified this vihāra with the monastery of Ngo-mi-to-po-wan mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. Yukādevī, another wife of king Meghabāhana built at Nadavana a vihāra of wonderful appearance.²¹⁵⁶ Indradevī, another wife of King Meghabāhana built another vihāra called Indradevībhabana.²¹⁵⁷ Many vihāras of renown were built by other queens of Meghabāhana such Khādānā and Sammā, under their own names.²¹⁵⁸ Jayendra, the maternal uncle of king Pravarasena II (of Kashmere) built the illustrious Jayendravihāra.²¹⁵⁹ Hiuen Tsang also visited and halted at this vihāra for purposes of study.²¹⁶⁰ The queen of king Durlabhaka, Prakāśadevī by name, founded the Prakāśikā-vihāra.²¹⁶¹ In the reign of King Kṣemagupta (950—958 A. D.) Damara Saṃgrāma when attacked by assassians entered this monastery and the king Kṣemagupta therefore had the latter burned down without

²¹⁴⁶ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Bk. I. 93; Stein, *The Chronicles of Kashmere*, Vol. I. p. 17.

²¹⁴⁷ *Rājatar.*, I. 94; Stein, I. 17.

²¹⁴⁸ *Rājatar.*, I. 103; Stein, I. 19.

²¹⁴⁹ *Rājatar.*, I. 189; Stein, I. 30.

²¹⁵⁰ *Rājatar.*, I. 200; Stein, I. 34.

²¹⁵¹ pp. 9 *Sqq.*

²¹⁵² *Rājatar.*, III. 13; Stein, I. 74.

²¹⁵³ *Rājatar.*, III. 355; Stein, I. 103.

²¹⁵⁴ *Rājatar.*, IV. 79; Stein, I. 126.

²¹⁴⁹ *Rājatar.*, I. 98; Stein, I. 18.

²¹⁵⁰ *Rājatar.*, I. 147; Stein, I. 26.

²¹⁵¹ *Rājatar.*, I. 199; Stein, I. 34.

²¹⁵² *Rājatar.*, III. 9; Stein, I. 73.

²¹⁵³ *Rājatar.*, III. 11; Stein, I. 73.

²¹⁵⁴ *Rājatar.*, III. 18; Stein, I. 74.

²¹⁵⁵ Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, pp. 69-70;

see ante, pp. 345-46.

mercy. Taking from this vihāra which was entirely burnt down the brass image of Sugata (Buddha) and collecting a mass of stones from the decaying temples he erected the temple of Śiva.²¹⁶² He also took thirty-six villages from the burnt vihāra and gave them into the tenure of the Khāsa ruler.²¹⁶³ In the reign of Pravarsasena II the minister Morāka built the Morākabhabana monastery.²¹⁶⁴ The ministers of King Yudhiṣṭhira II named Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta built many vihāras.²¹⁶⁵ Bhinnā, wife of King Meghabāhana built a vihāra.²¹⁶⁶ Galūn, minister of King Vikramāditya of Kashmere built a vihāra under the name of his wife Ratānbali.²¹⁶⁷ The wife of king Durlavabardhana built the Anangabhabana vihāra.²¹⁶⁸ King Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa built while at play (kṛdan) the vihāra of Kṛdārāma.²¹⁶⁹ At Huṣkapura Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa built a large monastery.²¹⁷⁰ In his Notes on Oukong,²¹⁷¹ Dr. Stein suggests the identification of this vihāra with the Moung-ti vihāra mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. This king also built the ever-rich Rājavihāra. He also built the wonderful and famous Kayya-vihāra.²¹⁷² Tuhkhāra Caṅkuṇa, the chief minister of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa founded the Caṅkuṇa Vihāra.²¹⁷³ In his Notes on Oukong,²¹⁷⁴ Dr. Stein identifies it with the monastery which figures as "le monastere du general." A second vihāra built by Caṅkuṇa at S'rinagara is referred to in IV. 215.²¹⁷⁵ This too bore the founder's name as seen from VIII. 2415 *sqq.* Which of these two vihāras Oukong may have meant cannot be determined. Caṅkuṇa's vihāra at S'rinagara was repaired by Sussala, the wife of the minister Rilhana under king Jaysimha.²¹⁷⁶ The physician Isānachandra, a son-in-law of the minister Caṅkuṇa built a

²¹⁶² Rājatar., VI. 171-73; Stein, I. 248.

²¹⁶⁴ Rājatar., III. 356; Stein, I. 103.

²¹⁶⁶ Rājatar., III. 464.

²¹⁶⁸ Rājatar., IV. 3; Stein, I. 120.

²¹⁷⁰ Rājatar., IV. 188; Stein, I. 140.

²¹⁷³ Rājatar., IV. 200; Stein I. 142.

²¹⁷⁴ pp. 19 *Sqq.*

²¹⁷⁵ See Rājatar., VIII. 2415 *Sqq.*

²¹⁶³ Rājatar., VI. 175; Stein, I. 249.

²¹⁶⁵ Rājatar., III. 380; Stein, I. 105.

²¹⁶⁷ Rājatar., III. 476; Stein, I. 114.

²¹⁶⁹ Rājatar., IV. 184; Stein, I. 139.

²¹⁷¹ pp. 3 *Sqq.*

²¹⁷² Rājatar., IV. 211; Stein, I. 143.

²¹⁷⁶ Stein, Vol. I. p. 143.

vihāra.²¹⁷⁷ King Jayāpiḍa built a large vihāra.²¹⁷⁸ In the reign of King Nandigupta (972—973 A. D.) his grandmother Diddā built a vihāra with a high quadrangle.²¹⁷⁹ Queen Jayamatī, wife of King Uccala (1101-11) built a vihāra.²¹⁸⁰ King Uccala also built in honour of his sister Sulla a vihāra.²¹⁸¹ Kalhaṇa mentions another monastery Skandhabhabana vihāra in Śrīnagara where Sussala's queens burnt themselves when the rebels hovering round the city made the usual burning ground at Mākṣikasvāmin.²¹⁸² Ratnādevī, queen of king Jayasimha (1128-49 A. D.) built a vihāra.²¹⁸³ Rilhaṇa, the chief minister of Jayasimha had a vihāra constructed at the place called Bhalerakaprapā (fountain of Bhaleraka) in honour of his deceased wife Sussala. "This (vihāra) became known by the name of her cat which had followed her dead mistress into death instead of forgetting her attachment as is the wont of animals".²¹⁸⁴ Rilhaṇa's wife Sussala also built a vihāra. It covered the whole ground of the residence of former royal dynasties and made the whole city a joy to look at.²¹⁸⁵ Bhuṭṭa, a minister of Jayasimha founded a town called Bhuṭṭapura which is adorned by great houses with vihāras and maṭhas.²¹⁸⁶ King Jaysimha completed the Sullavihāra founded by his uncle.²¹⁸⁷ In the reign of Jayasimha Dhanya commenced the construction of a vihāra which was to bear the name of Bijjā (vihāra) in honour of his deceased wife (Bijjā).²¹⁸⁸ Cīnta, the wife of the commander-in-chief of Jayasimha Udaya by name adorned the bank of the Vitastā by a vihāra. The five buildings within her vihāra appear as if they were the five high fingers of the upraised arm of Law.²¹⁸⁹ There was in Kashmere the monastery of Ratnaraśmī where in the reign of Śrī Harsa of Kashmere Dharmottarācārya's Pāralokasiddhi was translated into Tibetan.²¹⁹⁰

²¹⁷⁷ Rājatar., IV. 216; Stein, I. 144.

²¹⁷⁸ Rājatar., VI. 303; Stein, I. 261.

²¹⁸¹ Rājatar., VIII. 248; Stein, II. 22.

²¹⁸² Rājatar., VIII. 2402; Stein, II. 186; Compare VIII. 2433; Stein, II. 189.

²¹⁸⁴ Rājatar., VIII. 2410-11; Stein, II. 186. ²¹⁸⁵ Rājatar., VIII. 2417; Stein, II. 187.

²¹⁸⁶ Rājatar., VIII. 2431; Stein, II. 189. ²¹⁸⁷ Rājatar., VIII. 3318; Stein, II. 259.

²¹⁸⁸ Rājatar., VIII. 3343; Stein, II. 261. ²¹⁸⁹ Rājatar., VIII. 3352-53; Stein, II. 262.

²¹⁹⁰ S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—Med. Logic., p. XX. footnote No. 3.

From the Chacha-nāmā we learn that there was a monastery in Sind called Navavihāra. The story (related in the Chacha-nāmā) of the S'ramana of this vihāra shows how Buddhism had drifted by this time into the grossest superstition and idolatry. An ancestor of the ministerial family of Barmak²¹⁹¹ was an official of this Nauvihāra.

There was another monastery built in Kalinga by the great Buddhist scholar and logician Dharmakīrti (about 635—650 A. D.).²¹⁹²

Then there was the monastery of Kṛṣṇagiri where Dipāṅkara S'ri Jūāna received his lessons from Rāhulagupta. Here he was given the sacret name of Guhyajūāna Vajra and initiated into the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism.²¹⁹³

From the Moslem accounts of the conquest of Sind we learn that there was a nunnery at Debal in Sind, containing "700 beautiful females under the protection of Buddha".

From an inscription of King S'ivadeva of Nepal, dated 143 S. (=749 A. D.) we learn of a monastery called S'ivadeva vihāra for the maintenance of which he assigned lands.

From the Sārnath Inscription of Kumāradevi, queen of Govindachandra Gāhālavāla of Kanauj (c. 1114-1155) we learn that the queen founded a Buddhist vihāra commemorated by the inscription.²¹⁹⁴

Kaṇiṣka Mahāvihāra.

The Ghosrawan Inscription states that one Bīradeva after having completed the study of all the different Vedas repaired (in the 9th century A. D.) to Kaṇiṣaka Mahāvihāra in the neighbourhood of Peshwar for further study. In an earlier period this vihāra was famous for its school of sculpture. The famous Buddhist relic-casket exhumed from the ruins of the great stupa of Kaṇiṣka near Peshwar bears the inscription

²¹⁹¹ "The name Barmak is said to be of Indian descent, meaning Paramaka i. e., the superior (abbot of the vihāra)".—Sachau's Alberuni, Preface, p. XXXI.

²¹⁹² S. C. Vidyābhūṣana—Med. Logic, p. 104.

²¹⁹³ S. C. Das—Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, pp. 50-51; Phayindranāth Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 67.

²¹⁹⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX. p. 319.

"Dāsa Agisāla navakarmi Kaṇṣkasa vihāre Mahāsenasa saṃghārāme" (the slave Agisāla, the overseer of works at Kaṇṣka's vihāra in the saṃghārāma of Mahāsenā). Thus even foreign artists were accepted as teachers by the local Indian sculptors who in their usual way adopted the new methods to their own purposes.

As a result of the explorations carried on at Mathurā we learn that the Katra was the site of a Buddhist monastery name Yasi-vihāra which was still extant in the middle of the sixth century.

On Jāmālpur site there once stood a Buddhist monastery founded by Huviṣaka in the year 47 of Kaṇṣka's era.

As a result of recent excavations carried on at Nagar Junikonda (Nagārjuna's Hill) we learn that this ancient Buddhist site on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇā river in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency contained four Buddhist monasteries.²¹⁹⁵

NĀLANDĀ MONASTERY.

But the crest-jewel of Buddhist monasteries was the University of Nālandā of which we possess a somewhat detailed account from the Tibetan and Chinese sources.

Scholars are divided their opinion regarding the date of its foundation. Tārānāth says: "Here in Nālandā was in former times, the birth-place of the venerable Sāriputra and it is also the place where, he with 80,000 arhats, attained nirvāṇa. In course of time, only the chaitya of the venerable Sāriputra remained at which King Aśoka gave great offerings to the gods and to which he erected a Buddhist temple.In this way the first founder of the Nālandā vihāra is Aśoka". In one of the sculptures at Nālandā, Cunningham found inscribed Ārya Sāriputra and Ārya Maudgalayana. But judging from the fact that there is no mention of it by Fa-hien it would be very hard to accept this version of the Tibetan historian regarding the foundation of the University. Fa-hien,²¹⁹⁶ however, speaks of the village of Nālo which some scholars have identified with Nālandā. But this identification is not universally accepted.

²¹⁹⁵ Liberty, Sunday, Feb. 2, 1930, p. 9.

²¹⁹⁶ Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I. p. LVIII.

General Cunningham observes : " From the total silence of Fa-hien regarding any of the magnificent buildings at Nālandā, which are so minutely described by Hiuen Tsang, I infer that they must have been built after 410. Surely if the lofty temple of Bālāditya which was 300 feet in height had then existed, it seems scarcely possible that Fa-hien should not have noticed it ". He then points out that according to Hiuen Tsang²¹⁹⁷ four out of the six monasteries at Nālandā were founded by Bālāditya, the King of Magadha and his three immediate predecessors. Bālāditya was a contemporary of Mihirakula, the Huna ruler of Western India. Mihirakula began his reign in 510 A. D.²¹⁹⁸ and therefore his contemporary Bālāditya also lived about that time. Before Bālāditya his three immediate predecessors viz., Tathāgata, Buddhagupta and Śakrāditya each built one monastery at Nālandā. If we take 25 years as the average of each reign then Śakrāditya can be said to have reigned about 435 A. D. The date of the temple may therefore be about 435 A. D. General Cunningham would therefore " assign the probable date of the temple and monasteries to the two centuries between the visits of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang or from A. D. 425 to 625 ".²¹⁹⁹

Hiuen Tsang records that the great temple of Bālāditya was similar to that of the Bodh Gayā temple. As similarity of style may be taken as denoting proximity of date the erection of Bālāditya's temple may, with great probability, be assigned to the same century in which the Vajrāsana temple (built by king Vajra of Magadha) at Nālandā was built. Dr. Spooner during his excavations at Pātaliputra has made the discovery of a terra-cotta plaque which bears the illustration of a temple. Dr. Spooner supposes this to be the illustration of the temple of Bodh Gayā. The plaque also contains some characters in Kharosthi. Now the Kharosthi script was introduced into India in the second century A. D. and so it may be surmised that the Bodh Gayā temple was built during the Kushana time.²²⁰⁰ Hence the Bālāditya temple at Nālandā was also built during the Kushana time.

²¹⁹⁷ Watters—Yuan Chwang, I. p. 289.

²¹⁹⁸ V. A. Smith—Early History of India, p. 316.

²¹⁹⁹ Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. I. p. 29.

²²⁰⁰ Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, 1913-14, p. 71.

According to Professor S. V. Venkateswara.²²⁰¹ "it is likely that Śākṛāditya is another name of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta lineage, who appears in some records as Devarāja (Śakra). If so, the monastery was built by that king, who as we know, had Buddhist subordinates. The result would tally with Yuan Chwang's description of Nālandā as having been planned after Bodh Gayā, and with the archæological view that it was modelled on Sārnāth. Dr. Spooner²²⁰² would place the ruins of Sārnāth as early as the Kushana period. He assures us that there are four monasteries of different periods built one over the ruins of another".

Hwui-li in his Life of Hiuen Tsang remarks that the Nālandā monastery was founded 700 years before the time of Hiuen Tsang.²²⁰³ "This remark clears up the date of Śākṛāditya, the founder of the first monastery at Nālandā. The expression, therefore in the Si-yu-ki 'not long after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha'²²⁰⁴ must be taken, *cum grano*, to mean 'a good while after'.²²⁰⁵ The foundation of the Nālandā monastery would then be about 80 B. C."²²⁰⁶

All that we can say is that no definite conclusion can be arrived at unless there is thorough excavation of the sites; and until we see the actual plinth of the temple itself, it would be hazardous to come to a definite conclusion.

Regarding the name of the monastery Hiuen Tsang observes: "The old accounts of the country say that to the south of this Saṃghārāma, in the middle of an āmra grove, there is a tank. The Nāga of this tank is called Nālanda. By the side of it is built the Saṃghārāma, which, therefore, takes the name (of the Nāga). But the truth is that Tathāgata in old days practised the life of a Bodhisattva here, and became the king of a great country and established his capital

²²⁰¹ Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I, pp. 228-29.

²²⁰² Archæological Survey (Eastern Circle): Annual Report for 1916-17 pp. 2 and 43.

²²⁰³ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 112.

²²⁰⁴ Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 168.

²²⁰⁵ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 112 footnote.

²²⁰⁶ Ibid., Introduction, p. XX footnote.

in this land. Moved by pity for all living things he delighted in continually relieving them. In remembrance of this virtue he was called "Charity without intermission"—*Na-alam-da*—and the *Samghārāma* was so called in perpetuation of this name."²²⁰⁷ According to I-Tsing the name of *Nālandā* is derived from *Nāga Nanda*.²²⁰⁸ Hwui Lun, a Korean pilgrim to India observes: "The temple is called *S'ri Nālandā Vihāra* after the name of the *Nāga* called *Nanda*."²²⁰⁹

This famous University was situated in the modern village of Bargaon about eight miles from *Rājgir* in Behar. The identification of *Nālandā* with Bargaon tallies with the description of the site in the Buddhist scriptures²²¹⁰ as a *yojana* distant from *Rājagṛha*, where was a mango park in Buddha's time and with Hiuen Tsang's location of it as five miles distant from New *Rājagṛha*. Inscriptions found in the ruins at Bargaon²²¹¹ name it *Nālandā*, which means 'insatiable in giving' or 'not giving enough' as curiosity once excited and thought once stimulated could not be satisfied. The derivation is, in any case, a commentary on the ideal of University education—not cramming the mind with knowledge, but creating an insatiable thirst for it.

The University consisted of six monastic colleges. 'King Śākṛāditya built the first monastery. After his decease his son Buddha-gupta-rāja continued the vast undertaking and built towards the south another monastery. Then his son (successor) Tathāgata-rāja built a monastery to the east. Next his son (or direct descendant) Bālāditya built a monastery to the north-east. His son Vajra built another monastery to the north. After him a king of Mid-India built by the side of this another monastery. Thus six kings in connected succession added to these structures.'²²¹² "Moreover, the whole

²²⁰⁷ Beal—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. pp. 167-68; *Compare* Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 110.

²²⁰⁸ J. R. A. S., New Series, Vol. XIII, p. 571.

²²⁰⁹ Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, Introduction, p. XXXVII.

²²¹⁰ *Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 371; *Dīgha Nikāya*, I. 211, 212; II. 81, 86.

²²¹¹ Annual Report of the Arch. Surv. of India for 1915-16, Part I. pp. 12 and 13.

²²¹² Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, pp. 110-11.

establishment is surrounded by a brick wall,²²¹³ which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great College, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle of the convent. The richly adorned towers and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning) and the upper rooms tower above the clouds. From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds (produce new forms) and above the soaring eaves the conjunction of the Sun and the Moon (may be observed). And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds, bear on their surface, the blue lotus intermingled with the Kie-ni (Kanakan) flower, of deep red colour and at intervals the Āmra groves spread over all, their shade."²²¹⁴

"All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene."²²¹⁵

From the Tibetan accounts²²¹⁶ we learn that Nālandā had a fine library situated in the quarter known as Dharmagañja (Piety Mart). It consisted of three splendid buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnadadhi and Ratnārañjaka, all associated with Ratna, i. e., Jewels, these being the three Jewels of Buddhism—Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha. Ratnadadhi was nine-storeyed and in it were kept the sacred scripts called the Prajñāparāmitā Sūtra and Tantric works such as Samāj-guhya etc.

There were also Satras (free-board hostels) where the resident pupils were entertained free and supplied with necessities out of the endowments to the University.²²¹⁷

²²¹³ According to *Sī-yu-ki* this wall was built by a king of Central India.

²²¹⁴ Beal—*Life of Hsien Tsang*, p. 111.

²²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

²²¹⁶ S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—*Medieval School of Indian Logic*, Appendix A.

²²¹⁷ Beal—*Life of Hsien Tsang*, pp. 112-113.

From I-Tsing's account we learn that there was a stone path at Nālandā with lotus flowers carved on it.²²¹⁸ During his time there were eight halls and three hundred apartments.²²¹⁹

I-Tsing says : " There are more than ten great pools near the Nālandā monastery and there every morning a ghaṇṭi is sounded to remind the priests of the bathing hour. Every one brings a bathing sheet with him. Sometimes a hundred, sometimes a thousand (priests) leave the monastery together, and proceed in all directions towards these pools, where all of them take a bath."²²²⁰

There was a famous well in Nālandā vihāra reputed as Chandra's well.²²²¹ It was so called because Chandragomin thinking that his own commentary on Pāṇini's grammar was no better than the one written by Chandrakīrti threw it into this well whence it was afterwards recovered and found to be superior to Chandrakīrti's. The water of this well was used to be drunk by people in the belief that their intellect would become sharp thereby.²²²² This well reminds us of the famous Akkal-kūvi (well of wisdom) in the Sanskrit College in Dhar.

Hwui Lun, a Korean pilgrim to India, thus describes Nālandā : " This building of Nālandā stands four square, like a city precinct. The gates (porches) have overlapping eaves covered by tiles. The buildings (gates ?) are of three storeys, each storey about twelve feet in height. Outside the western gate of the great hall of the temple is a large stupa and various chaityas, each erected over different sacred vestiges, and adorned with every kind of precious substance."²²²³

Again, according to Hwui Lun " this (Nālandā) is the only temple in which by imperial order, a water-clock is kept to determine the right time. The night is divided into three watches, during the first and

²²¹⁸ J. R. A. S., New Series, Vol. XIII. p. 571.

²²¹⁹ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 154.

²²²⁰ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., pp. 108-09.

²²²¹ In Sanskrit Chandra-kūpa; in Tibetan Tsandrah-khron-pa.

²²²² S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic, pp. 122-23.

²²²³ Beal—Life of Hsuen Tsang, Introduction, p. XXXVII; Compare Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 145.

last of which there are religious services; in the middle watch, as the priests may desire, they can watch or repose."²²²⁴ The regulation of the clepsydra at Nālandā is fully described by I-Tsing and distinguished from that of the clepsydras in the monasteries of Mahābodhi and Kuśinagara.²²²⁵

Hence the remark of Hiuen Tsang: "The Saṃghārāmas of India are counted by myriads but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height."²²²⁶ In the Si-yu-ki we are told: "A long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole is truly marvellous to behold."²²²⁷ And recent excavations²²²⁸ have shown how the buildings were made of bricks of a very good quality and admirable texture—"fitted together so perfectly that in some places the joints between the bricks are altogether inconspicuous." As Dr. Spooner has observed: "As brick work, the construction is remarkable, far superior to any modern work that I have seen in recent years."²²²⁹ Indeed it does not require any great gift of imagination to reconstruct in mind what marvels these colleges would have been architecturally. To students familiar with the remains of Buddhist art either in the form of massive structural work as at Boro Budur in Java or in the form of fresco-painting such as have been preserved at Ajantā, Sigri and other subterranean monasteries, it is easy to realise what magnificent edifices would have housed the great University which was the pride of the Buddhist world.

On account of the rich endowments to the University (which we shall describe in a later chapter) "the students here (at Nālandā), being so abundantly supplied do not require to ask for the four requisites (i. e., clothes, food, bedding and medicine). This is the

²²²⁴ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, Introduction, p. XXXVII.

²²²⁵ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 145.

²²²⁶ Ibid., p. 112.

²²²⁷ Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 170.

²²²⁸ Annual Report of the Arch. Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1915-16, pp. 115-118.

²²²⁹ Ibid.

source of the perfection of their studies to which they have arrived".²²³⁰ Hiuen Tsang while at Nālandā received each day 120 Jambiras (a fruit); 20 Pin-long-tsen (areca nut), 20 tau-k'au (nutmegs), an ounce (tael) of camphor and a ching (peck) of Mahāsāli rice".²²³¹ "Every month he was presented with three measures of oil and daily a supply of butter and other things according to his need".²²³² "In the Nālandā convent the abbot entertains a myriad priests after this fashion, for, besides the Master of the Law (Hiuen Tsang) there were men from every quarter: and where in all their wanderings have they met with such courteous treatment?"²²³³

In a previous chapter (see *ante*, p. 157) we have referred to the rigid test for admission into the University held by the dwārapaṇḍita. We have also already described the curriculum of studies (see *ante*, pp. 66—70) and the method of teaching at Nālandā (see *ante*, pp. 178—79). Hiuen Tsang during his visit to Kāñchipura met two eminent Ceylonese priests with 300 other priests who, however, when asked to explain some choice passages of the Yogaśāstra "were not able to explain any of them as Śīlabhadra (of Nālandā) did."²²³⁴ I-Tsing also had a similar favourable impression of Nālandā. He stayed in this monastery for ten years, studied for a considerable time and collected some four hundred Sanskrit texts amounting to 500,000 ślokas. He mentions by name many distinguished teachers with whom he conversed and says: "I have already been very glad that I had the opportunity of acquiring knowledge from them personally *which I should otherwise never have possessed*."²²³⁵ Besides such studies the teachers and students of Nālandā occupied themselves with copying manuscripts. Thus, in the Bodelian Library, Cambridge there is an Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāparāmitā copied at Nālandā in the fifth regnal year of Mahipāla.²²³⁶ In the Library of the Asiatic Society

²²³⁰ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 113. Thus there was no need for teachers following some vocation like Johanan the shoe-maker, Simon the weaver or Joseph the carpenter.

²²³¹ Ibid., p. 109.

²²³² Ibid., p. 110.

²²³³ Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 184, 185.

²²³⁴ Ibid.

²²³⁵ Ibid., p. 140.

²²³⁶ Bendell's Catalogue.

of Bengal there is a fine manuscript, *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāparāmitā*, copied at Nālandā by Kalyāṇamitra Chitāmaṇi in the sixth regnal year of Mahipāla which was discovered in Nepal by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprosād S'āstri.²²³⁷ In the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland there is a manuscript *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāparāmitā* copied at Nālandā in the fourth regnal year of Govindapāla.²²³⁸ In the Bodleian Library, Cambridge there is a manuscript *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāparāmitā* copied at Nālandā by Grahaṇakuṇḍu in the fourth regnal year of Rāmpāla.²²³⁹

In Nālandā besides the Dwāra-paṇḍita there were among others three important officers: the Ching-fa-tsong (treasure of the good law), corresponding to the Chancellor of a modern University; the Karmadāna, sub-director of the monastery and the Sthavira (presiding priest).²²⁴⁰ Hwui Lun, a Korean who visited Nālandā after Hiuen-Tsang remarks: "The superior is a very old man; the Karmadāna or Vihāraswāmi or Vihārapāla is the chief officer after the Superior and to him the utmost deference is paid."²²⁴¹ From I-Tsing's account we learn that the Karmadāna had to exercise a general superintendence over all monastic works,²²⁴² to arrange the order of seats to be occupied by the priests²²⁴³ and to announce the time according to the clepsydra from sunset till dawn.²²⁴⁴

The head (i. e., Chancellor) of the Nālandā monastery in Hiuen-Tsang's time was Śīlabhadra who was preceded in this office by Dharmapāla.²²⁴⁵ In the middle of the eighth century the great Tantric scholar Kamalaśīla by name (728-776 A. D.) was at the head of this

²²³⁷ Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, p. 69.

²²³⁸ J. R. A. S., New Series, VIII. 1876, p. 3.

²²³⁹ Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Vol. II. p. 250.

²²⁴⁰ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 106.

²²⁴¹ Ibid., Introduction, p. XXXVII.

²²⁴² Takakusa's I-Tsing, p. 84.

²²⁴³ Ibid., p. 102.

²²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 145.

²²⁴⁵ Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 171.

establishment.²²⁴⁶ In the reign of Nyāyapāla (—1042) Dipaṅkara S'rijñāna was the Chancellor.²²⁴⁷ From the Ghosrawan Inscription²²⁴⁸ we find that Viradeva, an inhabitant of Nagarhara was installed by king Devapāla as the High-priest of Nālandā.

The number of students residing here amounted to 10,000 in Hiuen-Tsang's time²²⁴⁹ while in I-Tsing's time the number (of students) exceeded three thousand.²²⁵⁰ In the time of Hiuen Tsang out of the 10,000 inmates of the convent 1,510 were teachers who between them delivered 100 different discourses on diverse subjects every day.²²⁵¹

There were many eminent teachers at Nālandā, famous for their 'conspicuous talent, solid learning, great ability and illustrious virtue.'²²⁵² S'araba, the tutor and spiritual guide of Nāgārjuna increased very much the splendour and usefulness of this University.²²⁵³ Nāgārjuna,²²⁵⁴ the founder of the school of Madhyamikā philosophy was one of the early founders of this vihāra. Deva or Āryadeva²²⁵⁵ was a pupil of Nāgārjuna and a great paṇḍita of Nālandā. He was the author²²⁵⁶ of three Sanskrit books one of which he wrote at Nālandā vihāra. According to Hiuen Tsang²²⁵⁷ he visited the countries of Mahākośala, Srughna, Prayāga, Chola and Vaiśālī, in all of which he won great renown by defeating the Tīrthikas and preaching the true doctrines of Buddha. Ārya Asanga also lived as a paṇḍita in Nālandā

²²⁴⁶ S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—Med. Logic, pp. 129-30; P. N. Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 131-32; Waddel—Lamaism, p. 31; Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Vol. I. Part I. p. 10.

²²⁴⁷ S. C. Das—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, pp. 51f.

²²⁴⁸ Ind. Ant., XVII. pp. 307-12.

²²⁴⁹ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, p. 112.

²²⁵⁰ Takakusu's I-Tsing, pp. 65, 154.

²²⁵¹ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang p. 112.

²²⁵² Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 171.

²²⁵³ S. C. Das—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, p. 48.

²²⁵⁴ Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 66, 69-73.

²²⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 83-86, 93.

²²⁵⁶ S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's "Indian Logic as preserved in Tibet" No. 3, in the J. A. S. B., New Series, Vol. III. No. 7, 1907.

²²⁵⁷ Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I. Bk. IV. pp. 186-190; Bk. V. p. 231; Vol. II. Bk. X. pp. 210, 227; Bk. XII. p. 302, Bk. VIII. pp. 98-102.

for some years.²²⁵⁸ He wrote twelve works, most of which still exist in their Chinese and Tibetan versions.²²⁵⁹ Vasubandhu²²⁶⁰ like his elder brother Asanga was a follower of the Yogācāra school of the Mahāyāna and the author of a large number of books²²⁶¹ including the Tarkaśāstra. Three other works on Logic called in Chinese Ronki, Ronshiki and Ronshin are also attributed to him.²²⁶² Dharmapāla, a native of Kāñchīpura was a student of Nālandā of which he subsequently became the head. He was a famous logician and grammarian and wrote a Sanskrit commentary on "Chandra grammar" and four Buddhist books in Sanskrit. Śīlabhadra, a native of Samatata (Lower Bengal) was a pupil of Dharmapāla at Nālandā of which he subsequently became the head. While yet a student at Nālandā he defeated in a debate a proud Brahmin who came from S. India to engage his guru²²⁶³ Dharmapāla in a discussion. Both I-Tsing and Hiuen Tsang²²⁶⁴ refer to his profound learning and it was under him that the latter learnt Sanskrit at Nālandā.²²⁶⁵ He wrote many books, only one of which—that on Logic—has come down to us. Sthirmati was a famous scholar at Nālandā²²⁶⁶ where at the temple of Tārābhaṭṭārikā he translated a Sanskrit book into Tibetan.²²⁶⁷ He was particularly proficient in the Kalāpa system of Sanskrit grammar. He wrote nine books, translated into Tibetan seven and undertook the revision and correction of the Tibetan version of ten books.²²⁶⁸ Chandragomin,²²⁶⁹ a native Varendra, was a pupil of Sthirmati at Nālandā and the author of about sixty works, five of which were on Buddhist Tantricism. S'anta Rakṣita²²⁷⁰ was a professor at

²²⁵⁸ Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 123.

²²⁵⁹ Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, Appendix I. No. 5.

²²⁶⁰ Beal—Bud. Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 171.

²²⁶¹ Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka Appendix I. No. 6.

²²⁶² Dr. Sugimura's "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan", p. 32.

²²⁶³ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 181.

²²⁶⁴ Watters—Yuan Chwang II. p. 168.

²²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 109.

²²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²²⁶⁷ Cordier—Catalogue du Fond Tibétain, II. p. 26.

²²⁶⁸ P. N. Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities pp. 133-36.

²²⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 116-123.

²²⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 123-26; S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—Med. Logic, pp. 124-25.

Nālandā whence at the request of the Tibetan king Khri-sron-deu-tsan he visited Tibet where he worked for thirteen years and helped the king to build the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet after the model of Odantapurī. He was the author of two works on Logic. Padmasambhava,²²⁷¹ a native Udyāna was a pupil of Śānta Rakṣita and an expounder of the Yogācāra school of Tantricism at Nālandā whence he went at the request of the Tibetan King Khri-sron-deu-tsan to Tibet where he introduced the Tantric element in Tibetan Buddhism and helped Śānta Rakṣita in the construction of the Sam-ye monastery. Vinīta Deva²²⁷² was another teacher at Nālandā who wrote the famous Samayabhedoparacana-chakra and six books on Logic.²²⁷³ Kamalaśīla²²⁷⁴ was for sometime a professor of Tantras at Nālandā whence at the request of the Tibetan King Khri-srong-deu-tsan he went to Tibet where he vindicated the religious views of his guru Padmasambhava and Śānta Rakṣita by defeating and expelling a Chinese monk Mahāyāna Hoshang. He was the author of five works, two of which are on Logic. Buddhakīrti²²⁷⁵ who translated a Sanskrit book on Tantricism into Tibetan was associated with the University of Nālandā and when Abhayakaragupta of Vikramaśīlā came here he helped him in translating a Sanskrit book into Tibetan. Kumāra S'rī, Karṇa S'rī, Sūryadhvaja and Sumati Sena were other teachers associated with Nālandā vihāra.²²⁷⁶ Acārya Devavid Siṃha²²⁷⁷ was another teacher of Nālandā under whom Thon-mi the Tibetan messenger of King Sron-tsan-gampo of Tibet studied the sacred literature of the Brahmins and the Buddhists. Another teacher of Nālandā was Prabhākaramitra who was taken to China in 627 A. D. by a Chinese embassy to organise the work of the translation of sacred texts there.²²⁷⁸ Jinamitra²²⁷⁹ was another

²²⁷¹ Ibid., 126-31.

²²⁷² Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 195-98 ; 272.

²²⁷³ S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—Med. Logic, pp. 119-21.

²²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 129-30 ; P. N. Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 131-32.

²²⁷⁵ P. N. Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 137.

²²⁷⁶ Ibid., 138-42.

²²⁷⁷ S. C. Das—Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow (1893) p. 48.

²²⁷⁸ Dr. P. C. Bagchi—India and China, p. 14 ; Dr. U. N. Ghosal—Ancient Indian Culture in Afganistan, p. 27.

teacher of Nālandā who visited Tibet²²⁸⁰ and helped the Tibetans in the work of translating Sanskrit books into Tibetan.²²⁸¹ Hiuen Tsang²²⁸² mentions the names of many other teachers: 'Chandrapāla who excited by his bequeathed teaching the thoughtless and the worldly; Guṇamati the streams of whose superior teaching spread abroad even now; Prabhāmitra with his clear discourses; Jñānachandra, Śighrabuddha and other eminent men whose names are lost.' "These illustrious personages known to all, excelled in their attainments all their distinguished predecessors and passed the bounds of the ancients in their learning. Each of these composed tens of treatises and commentaries which were widely diffused and which for their perspecuity are passed down to the present time."²²⁸³

The fame of these teachers helped in attracting students and scholars from all parts of India and even from abroad. Hiuen Tsang says: "Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts and then (the streams of their wisdom) spread far and wide".²²⁸⁴ Some of these came even from Mongolia²²⁸⁵ and Korea.²²⁸⁶ Thus Nālandā was an international educational centre in the seventh century, when Europe was in the darkest watch of the long night of the Middle ages, when even the Saracenic schools and Arabic seats of learning had not yet been founded. And so great was the value of the hall-mark of this University that according to Hiuen Tsang "some persons usurp the name (of Nālandā students) and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence".²²⁸⁷ The enthusiasm of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsing for their Alma Mater may have been coloured but the conscientious and upright monks and the

²²⁷⁹ Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, II. p. 171.

²²⁸⁰ Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 226.

²²⁸¹ S. C. Vidyābhūṣapa—Med. Logic, p. 135.

²²⁸² Beal—Bud. Records, II. p. 171.

²²⁸³ Ibid., II. pp. 171-72.

²²⁸⁴ Ibid., Vol. II. p. 170.

²²⁸⁵ Takakuen's I-Tsing, p. 26.

²²⁸⁶ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, Introduction, pp. XXIX, XXX and XXXVI.

²²⁸⁷ Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. p. 170.

careful and painstaking students whose lives were one long record of perseverance in the cause of learning are certainly not to give anything but a strictly honest description of what they saw. In the case of Nālandā especially, their testimony is one of the highest value as both of them were in residence in the University for a considerable period.

Many other foreigners also came to Nālandā. Thus Thon-mi who was sent to India by king Sron-tsan-gampo of Tibet after learning from Lipidatta the sections of Nāgri and Gāthā characters came to Nālandā where under Āchārya Devavid Siṃha he studied the sacred literature of the brāhmaṇas and the Buddhists.²²⁸⁸ Hiuen-Chiu, a Chinese pilgrim remained in Nālandā for three years in the latter half of the seventh century.²²⁸⁹ Another Chinese Taou-hi studied books of the Great Vehicle and wrote (copied?) some four hundred chapters of sūtras and śāstras whilst at Nālandā.²²⁹⁰ Āryabarman, a man of Sin-lo (Korea) dwelt in the Nālandā Temple, copying out many sūtras.²²⁹¹ Hwui-nieh, another Korean, studied the sacred books at Nālandā (about 638 A. D.).²²⁹² Buddha-dharma, a man of To-ho-shi-li (Tushara or Taurkhāra) was found by I-Tsing at Nālandā.²²⁹³ A Chinese Taou-sing also visited Nālandā (about 649 A. D.).²²⁹⁴ Tang also went to Nālandā.²²⁹⁵ Hwui Lun, a Korean refers to Nālandā.²²⁹⁶ Taou-lin studied the Koṣa at Nālandā for a year or two.²²⁹⁷ Hiuen-ta remained in Nālandā for ten years.²²⁹⁸ Wou Hing studied the Yoga, Koṣa and other works at Nālandā where he died in the end.²²⁹⁹

Dr. Kielhorn has calculated on palæographic grounds from the Ghosrawan Inscription which refers to the appointment of Viradeva as High-priest of Nālandā by Devapāla (825-50 A. D.) that the glories of Nālandā vanished from the latter half of the ninth century.²³⁰⁰ But we

²²⁸⁸ S. C. Das—Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, p. 48.

²²⁸⁹ Beal—Life of Hinen Tsang, Introduction, p. XXVIII.

²²⁹⁰ Ibid., p. XXIX.

²²⁹¹ Ibid., pp. XXIX—XXX.

²²⁹² Ibid., p. XXX.

²²⁹³ Ibid.

²²⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. XXX—XXXI.

²²⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. XXXIV—XXXV.

²²⁹⁶ XXXVII.

²²⁹⁷ Ibid., XXXVIII.

²²⁹⁸ Ibid., XL.

²²⁹⁹ Ibid., XLI.

²³⁰⁰ J. A. S. B., VII. Part I, pp. 492-501; also J. A. S. B., Vol. XII, pp. 268-74.

shall presently adduce evidences which go to show that Nālandā was in a flourishing condition even in later years. Thus in the fifth regnal year of Mahipāla (980-1026 A. D.) Aṣṭasasrikā Prajñāparāmitā was copied at Nālandā which is now preserved in the library at Cambridge.²³⁰¹ The same manuscript was copied at Nālandā in the sixth regnal year of the same king which is now preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.²³⁰² In the reign of Nyāyapāla (—1042) Dipāṅkara Śīlajāna, the head of this convent went to Tibet at the request of its king.²³⁰³ In the fourth regnal year of Rāmapāla (ac. 1084) a manuscript was copied at Nālandā by one Grahapakuṇḍu.²³⁰⁴ In the fourth regnal year of Govindapāla (ac. 1164) a manuscript was copied at Nālandā.²³⁰⁵ That these manuscripts were copied at Nālandā and that its head in the reign of Nyāyapāla (—1042) went to Tibet at the request of the Tibetan king shows that Nālandā was able to retain its fame as a centre of culture at least as late as the middle of the eleventh century.²³⁰⁶ When Vikramaśīlā rose as a rival and while its head Atisa was proceeding towards Tibet, the latter's Tibetan interpreter was staying at Nālandā.²³⁰⁷ Again the Tibetan monk who was sent by the king of Tibet to take Atisa there from Vikramaśīlā stayed on his way at Nālandā.²³⁰⁸ After Nyāyapāla Nālandā's decadence commenced. Lāmā Tārānāth remarks that the professors of Vikramaśīlā watched over the affairs of Nālandā.²³⁰⁹ In Tārānāth we are also told of one āchārya who was a dwāra-paṇḍita at both Vikramaśīlā and Nālandā.²³¹⁰ Two causes contributed to Nālandā's decay :—(i) its buildings despite repairs and reconstructions at

²³⁰¹ Bendell's Catalogue.

²³⁰² Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1909, p. 69.

²³⁰³ S. C. Das—Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, pp. 51f.

²³⁰⁴ Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Cambridge, Vol. II. p. 250.

²³⁰⁵ J. R. A. S., New Series, VIII. 1876, p. 3.

²³⁰⁶ Compare the view of M. M. H. P. Śāstrī in his Rāmacharita, p. 12.

²³⁰⁷ S. C. Das—Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow.

²³⁰⁸ Ibid.

²³⁰⁹ Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 218.

²³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 236; See also Ibid., p. 250.

intervals²³¹¹ must have become old and dilapidated and (ii) the rival University of Vikramaśilā which became the premier educational establishment of Northern India seemed to have monopolised all royal patronage. The Turuṣka invaders gave a crushing blow to Nālandā but it survived these Muhammedan raiders, for, we are told by the Pag-jon-sam-Zang that its temples and chaityas were repaired by a sage named Mudita Bhadra.²³¹² Soon after this Kukutasiddha, a minister of the king Magadha erected a temple at Nālandā. When a sermon was being delivered in the temple two very poor Tīrthika mendicants appeared on the scene. Some naughty young novice monks threw some dirty water on them in disdain. Angry at this treatment these mendicants after propitiating the Sun for twelve years, performed a fire sacrifice and threw living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Nālandā temples. This produced a great conflagration which destroyed among others the fine library.²³¹³ That Nālandā was destroyed by fire is proved by the Bālāditya inscription discovered in 1864 by Captain Marshall among the ruins of Nālandā. This inscription is now preserved in the Calcutta Museum and it refers to the re-building of a temple after its destruction by fire.²³¹⁴

THE VIKRAMAŚILĀ MONASTERY.

The monastic University of Vikramaśilā according to Tibetan chronicles, was situated in Behar on a hill on the right bank of the Ganges²³¹⁵ but its precise position is not certain. Mr. Cunningham suggested the village of Silāo near Borgaon.²³¹⁶ This is out of the question as the Ganges could never have been near it, nor is there

²³¹¹ Dr. Spooner observes: "It can now be demonstrated that upon this one spot four separate and successive monasteries have been erected through a series of centuries, each being erected over the ruins of the previous one and the second in date enveloping the oldest." (Arch. Surv. Report, Eastern Circle, 1916-17, p. 2).

²³¹² S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic, p. 147.

²³¹³ Ibid., Appendix A.

²³¹⁴ Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, IV. (New Series), p. 106.
See also Arch. Surv. Report, III p. 122.

²³¹⁵ Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 234-42.

²³¹⁶ Arch. Surv. Report, Vol. VIII. p. 83.

any hill near to it. Mr. Nundo Lal De's identification with Pātharghātā hill, twenty-four miles to the east of Bhāgalpur seems to be right, for, it is on the right bank of the Ganges and has a sufficient space for many temples and buildings and a quadrangle accommodating 8,000 men.²³¹⁷ There are also ruins of Buddhist images at Pātharghātā.

According to tradition the vihāra was named after a Yakṣa called Vikrama who was suppressed here.²³¹⁸ As it was founded by King Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, it was known as the *Royal University of Vikramaśīlā*.²³¹⁹

Dharmapāla furnished it with four establishments each consisting of 27 monks belonging to the four principal sects of Buddhism. Later on other buildings were added so that it came to have six colleges, a central hall called the House of Science and four Satras or free-board hostels. There was also a large quadrangle which could accommodate an assembly of 8,000 persons. There was in the centre the temple with Mahābodhi images. Within the enclosure fifty-three smaller temples of a private character and fifty-four ordinary temples were set up. Thus the total number of temples within the compound of the monastery was one hundred and eight.²³²⁰ There was also a "house assigned for the use of the Tibetans" in this monastery.²³²¹ It was surrounded by a wall, with six gates which opened on its six colleges. In its front wall, on the right of the principal entrance, was painted the likeness of Nāgārjuna, once the head of the Nālandā monastery and on the left, the portrait of Atisa, the head of this (Vikramaśīlā) monastery. At the gate outside the wall, there was a dharmasālā for strangers who arrived late after the closing of the gate.²³²² It is no wonder, therefore, that the Tibetans would take Vikramaśīlā as a model for one of their monasteries.

It was managed by a board of six members presided over by the High-priest. There were six dwāra-paṇḍitas at the six gates who used

²³¹⁷ J. A. S. B., Vol. V. No. 1. p. 7.

²³¹⁸ S. C. Das in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Vol. I. pp. 10-11.

²³¹⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

²³²¹ S. C. Das—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, p. 58.

²³²⁰ P. N. Bose—Indian teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 34.

²³²² Ibid.

to examine the candidates for admission in the same way as the *dwārapaṇḍita* at Nālandā did. Probably these six *dwāra-paṇḍitas* were the Principals of the six colleges and they collectively formed the Managing Board of six members with the High-priest as their President. According to Lāmā Tārānāth²³²³ this board of management kept watch over the affairs of the Nālandā *vihāra* as well. 'If we accept his statement it must be admitted that a spirit of cooperation prevailed between these sister universities. Both were directly under King Dharmapāla who might have asked the board of the new university to watch over the older university. Sometimes we find men like Dipāṅkara and Abhayakara Gupta working in both the universities. We, however, do not know whether the Nālandā university was conducted under the direction of the *paṇḍitas* of Vikramaśīlā. What Tārānāth says is this: "Der vorstand dieser Lehrstätte hutette auch Nālandā."²³²⁴ According to Tārānāth in the reign of Canaka (955—983 A. D.) there were Prajñākaramati at the southern gate, Ratnākara Śānti at the eastern gate, Vāgisvarakīrti at the western gate, Naropanta at the northern gate Ratnavajra at the first central gate and Jñāna-śrī-mitra at the second central gate. The last two *paṇḍitas* who taught theology in the central college were called the first and second "pillars" of the University. The Central hall called the House of Science was used for studying the Prajñāparāmitā scriptures. The Managing Board of six members granted the diploma of 'paṇḍita' to all distinguished alumni, the diploma being conferred by the reigning king.²³²⁵ The distinguished logicians Ācārya Jetāri of Varendra and Ratnabajra of Kashmere were granted such a diploma.²³²⁶ Yamāri who lived in the time of Nyāyapāla also received the royal diploma of Vikramaśīlā.²³²⁷ Moreover, the *paṇḍitas* who were eminent for their learning and character were rewarded by having their images painted on the walls of the monastery as in the case of Nāgārjuna and Atisa,²³²⁸ referred to above.

²³²³ *Geschichte des Buddhismus* Von Schiefner, p. 218.

²³²⁴ P. N. Bose—*Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, p. 36.

²³²⁵ S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—*History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 79.

²³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

²³²⁷ *Geschichte des Buddhismus* Von Schiefner pp. 247, 253.

²³²⁸ S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—*Med. Logic*, Appendix C.

King Dharmapāla, the founder of this monastic University realised that temples and hostels alone would not make the new vihāra a centre of culture. Something more was needed—professors. Accordingly he made provision²³²⁹ for no less than one hundred and eight professors and also for a wood-offering (streu opfer) ācārya, an ordination ācārya a fire-offering (brand-opfer) ācārya, a superintendent of works (bya-ba-bsrun-ba), a guard of pigeons and a supplier of temple servants. In course of time each of the six colleges came to have 108 Professors. Dharmapāla endowed it with rich grants out of which Satras were established for supplying gratis food and other necessities to the inmates including the professors and the students. There were also establishments for temporary residents.²³³⁰ It may be mentioned that the cost of the maintenance of each of these one hundred and eight professors, three ācāryas and three superintendents was ordinarily equivalent to that of four men. We shall see in a later chapter that a Satra was added by one of the sons of King Sanātana of Varendra.

In a previous chapter (see *ante*, pp. 168, 169—70) we have described the course of studies carried on at Vikramaśilā. Among its illustrious alumni we may mention the names of Ratna Vajra, (an inhabitant) of Kashmir the author of Yukti-prayoga, who was afterwards made a dwāra-panḍita of his *alma mater*;²³³¹ Jñāna-śrī-mitra the author of Tarka-bhāṣā, Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva-siddhi and Pramāṇa-viniścaya-tīkā, who also became one of its dwārapanḍitas and even its High-priest when Atisa vacated this office in responding to the invitation of the king of Tibet,²³³² and Ratnakīrti, author of Pramāṇa-viniścaya, Kalyāṇa-kāṇḍa, Apohasiddhi and kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi, who also became one of its dwārapanḍitas.²³³³ Similarly there was Jetāri author of Hetu-tattva-upadeśa, Dharma-dharmi-viniścaya and Bālāvatāra-tarka who counted Dipāṅkara or Atisa as one of his pupils.²³³⁴ We may

²³²⁹ P. N. Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 35.

²³³⁰ S. C. Das in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Part I. pp. 1—10.

²³³¹ S. C. Vidyābhāṣa—Med. Logic, p. 139.

²³³² Ibid., p. 138.

²³³³ Ibid., p. 140 footnote No. 2.

²³³⁴ Ibid., pp. 136-37.

also mention the names Ratnākara Śānti, author of Chhanda-ratnākara, Vijnapti-mātra-siddhi and Antara-vyāpti, who became one of its dwāra-paṇḍitas and afterwards gave an impetus to the Buddhist doctrine in Ceylon where he went at the invitation of its king²³³⁵ and of Jamāri, author of Pramāṇa-vārtikālaṅkāra-tikā who lived during the reign of Nyāyapāla.²³³⁶

Like Nalandā Vikramaśīlā was famous for its eminent teachers. Tārānāth²³³⁷ mentions Acārya Buddha Jñānapāda as associated with this University in the early stages of its development. After the death of his guru Siṃhabhadra he was engaged as the Ordination Priest of Vikramaśīlā. Afterwards he was drawn into the cult of Vadschrātschārja (vajrācārya) in the same University. He was a follower of Tantricism and composed in Sanskrit several books on Tantra, twelve of which now remain only in their Tibetan translations. Another teacher was Mahāpaṇḍita (or Mahācārya) Voirochana Rakṣita (A. D. 728—864 A. D.) who after finishing his education under Padmasambhava of Tibetan fame joined the University of Vikramaśīlā and there engaged himself in composing Buddhist books in Sanskrit and translating twelve books (including two of his own) into Tibetan. Acārya Jetāri who flourished in the early part of the tenth century, was himself a student of Vikramaśīlā and became a professor there. It was from him that Ratnākara Śānti learnt the texts of Sūtra and Tantra at Vikramaśīlā and Dipāṅkara or Atisa the five minor sciences. According to Tārānāth²³³⁸ he wrote one hundred books, including Tantras and Sūtras of which only twenty-two are preserved in their Tibetan versions. Śrī Mahāpaṇḍita Prajñākaramati who flourished in the reign of Canaka (955—83 A. D.)²³³⁹ was called in Tibetan *Nub-kye ego-glegs-pa* which M. P. Cordier²³⁴⁰ translates as 'gardien de la porte occidentale, du monastere de Vikramaśīlā' (guardian of the western gate

²³³⁵ Ibid., p. 140.

²³³⁶ Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner pp. 247, 253.

²³³⁷ Schiefner's Tārānāth, p. 220.

²³³⁸ Ibid p. 230.

²³³⁹ Cordier—Catalogue du Fond Tibetain, III, p. 279.

²³⁴⁰ Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, p. 135.

of the monastery. Lāmā Tārānāth,²³⁴¹ however, makes him the gate-keeper of the southern gate. Only two books are ascribed to him in the whole of the Tibetan Tripitaka collection. Mahācārya Ratnākara S'ānti received his ordination in the school of Sarvāstivāda in the Odantapura University and afterwards joined the Vikramaśīlā University, where he was taught as we have seen the Tantra and Sūtra texts by Jetāri. On finishing his education here he was appointed in the reign of King Canaka (A. D. 955—983) as dwārapaṇḍita of the eastern gate. He afterwards gave an impetus to the Buddhist doctrine in Ceylon where he went at the invitation of its king.²³⁴² We do not know whether he went to Tibet, but his religious writings were eagerly sought by the Buddhists there, who translated all his thirteen books written in Sanskrit into Tibetan. Lāmā Tārānāth²³⁴³ speaks of another famous teacher Mahāpaṇḍita Jñāna-śrī-mitra who hailed from Gaṇḍa and was the guardian of the second central gate of Vikramaśīlā in the reign of King Canaka (A. D. 955—983). According to M. M. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa²³⁴⁴ he was the same person as Jñāna-śrī-bhadra who worked in Kashmere. He was the author of Sanskrit works, three of which are on Logic. To spread the genius of India in Tibet he learnt Tibetan and translated one of his books into Tibetan. Mahāpaṇḍita Ratnavajra, a Brahmin of Kashmere, after studying upto his thirty-sixth year, not only the Buddhist sūtras and mantras but also most of the Buddhist sciences, visited Vajrāsana (Bodh Gayā) where he mastered all the Buddhist śāstras in a very short time and then came to Vikramaśīlā for further study. After he finished the course of studies here, the royal diploma of paṇḍita was awarded to him and soon after he was appointed as keeper of the middle gate²³⁴⁵ by King Canaka (A. D. 955—983). After some time he went back to Kashmere where he defeated many Tīrthikas in discussion. From Kashmere he went to the country of Udyāna, whence towards the end of his career he visited Tibet to spread Buddhism there. He was the author of fourteen Buddhistic books in

²³⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 234, 235, etc.

²³⁴² S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Medieval School of Indian Logic, p. 140.

²³⁴³ Schiefner's Tārānāth, pp. 235—42.

²³⁴⁴ Vidyābhūṣaṇa—Med. Logic, p. 137.

²³⁴⁵ Schiefner's Tārānāth, p. 240.

Sanskrit which found their way to Tibet through translations. When in Tibet he learnt Tibetan and translated several books into that language, four of which had come down to us. Mahāpaṇḍita Vāgiśvara-kīrti was an inhabitant of Benares and the author of a Sanskrit book on Tantra which now remains only in its Tibetan translation. He was appointed as dwāra-paṇḍita of the western gate of Vikramaśīlā by King Canaka (A. D. 955-983). Dipāṅkara Sri Jñāna or Atisa like Lord Buddha came of a royal family (of Gaṇḍa), a kingdom to the east of Vajrāsana (Bodh Gayā) and like him renounced the ease and pleasure of the world and entered the monastery of Kṛṣṇagiri, where he was trained by Rahula-gupta. At the age of nineteen he took the sacred vows from Śīla Rakṣita, who was the Mahāśāṅghika ācārya of Odantapuri University. At the age of thirty-one he was ordained by Ācārya Dharma Rakṣita in the highest order of vikṣus. He learnt all the mysteries of Buddhism from Ācārya Chandrakīrti, the High-priest of Suvarṇadwīpa²³⁴⁶ which was considered the head quarters of Buddhism in the East. After residing there for twelve years, he returned to India, visiting Ceylon on the way. Attracted by the versatility of this profound Buddhist scholar king Nyāyapāla (1030—) appointed him to the post of High-priest of Vikramaśīlā. At the call of the Buddhist King of Tibet, Chan Chub, he left Vikramaśīlā after much hesitation, for Tibet to reform the Buddhist religion there.²³⁴⁷ An escort of three hundred horsemen took the sage to the Tibetan King, who welcomed him warmly and surnamed him Jowo Je.²³⁴⁸ He was the real founder of Lāmāism and perhaps the greatest writer of Tibetan Buddhism. About two hundred books—both original and translations—are ascribed to him among which eighty-three are Tantric books in Sanskrit. Viryasīṃha who popularised Buddhist literature in Tibet appears to have been connected with Vikramaśīlā; for he helped Atisa in the Tibetan translation of two books, made at the vihāra of Vikramaśīlā.²³⁴⁹ Abhayakara-gupta who came

²³⁴⁶ Identified by Mr. S. C. Das with Sudharmanagar in Pegu Called Thaton.

²³⁴⁷ S. C. Das—Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow (1893) pp. 50-76. Waddell—Lāmāism.

²³⁴⁸ Sans. Prabhu Swāmi.

²³⁴⁹ Cordier—Catalogue du Fond Tibetain, II. p. 257 ; Ibid. III. p. 338.

from Gaṇḍa was a famous teacher at Vikramaśīlā in the reign of King Rāmapāla (A. D. 1084-1130). He was proficient in the five sciences and while at Vikramaśīlā used to write śāstras in the first two watches of the day and explain the principles of Dharma in the third. In his day the University had three thousand monks and was under the protection of King Subhaśrī of Eastern India. We learn on the authority of Tibetan writers, that a Turuṣka war took place at this time in which he played an important part and was ultimately able to drive out the Turuṣkas.²³⁵⁰ He was a great Tantric scholar and besides writing two works on Śūtra group he composed in Sanskrit twenty-seven and translated into Tibetan seven books on Tantra. Mahāpaṇḍita Tathāgata Rakṣita who came of a Kāyastha family of Orissa is mentioned by Tārānāth as a Tantrācārya of Vikramaśīlā.²³⁵¹ He composed in Sanskrit nine books, mostly on Tantra, seven of which he himself translated into Tibetan. He also translated into Tibetan four works written by others. Mahāpaṇḍita Ratnakīrti was also associated with the University of Vikramaśīlā²³⁵² and it was from him as from Jetāri that Ratnākara Śānti learnt the Sūtra and the Tantra. He was the author of four Buddhist books in Sanskrit, three of which he himself rendered into Tibetan. Paṇḍita Mañjuśrī, a great Tibetan and Sanskrit scholar, translated three Sanskrit books into Tibetan and happily the scene of his work on these translations was the University of Vikramaśīlā. Dharmakīrti who was helped by Abhayakara-gupta in translating 'Kāla-cakrāvātāra-nāmā' was associated with Vikramaśīlā where he translated into Tibetan the Sanskrit book 'Samaya-Pañcha' of Ācārya Padmasambhava.²³⁵³ He was a native of Khams-pa which according to Mr. S. C. Das is the eastern part of Tibet. He is also described as a Lotsaba, that is, a Tibetan scholar versed in the Sanskrit language and he wrote about sixteen Sanskrit books. Mahāpaṇḍita Śākya Śrī Bhadra was a native of Kashmere and a famous logician. When he was at Vikramaśīlā the vihāra was invaded and destroyed along with

²³⁵⁰ S. C. Das—"Contributions on the Religion and History of Tibet" in J. A. S. B., 1882, p. 18.

²³⁵¹ Schiefner's Tārānāth, p. 259.

²³⁵² Catalogue du Fond Tibétain, III, p. 391.

²³⁵³ Ibid., II, pp. 75-76.

Odantapura by a Turuṣka king (Bakhtyar Khilji). He then fled to the monastic University of Jāgaddala whence he visited Tibet.²³⁵⁴ He wrote seven books in Sanskrit and translated two others into Tibetan. Relying on Tibetan sources Mr. S. C. Das also refers to two other famous teachers associated with Vikramaśīlā. One was Vidyā Kokila who was a lineal disciple of Ācārya Chandrakīrti and teacher of Atisa. The other was the famous Naropanta "who for his scholarship in the sacred literature has no equal among the Buddhists. He too was Atisa's tutor." Tārānāth also mentions the name of Naropa who was the dwāra-paṇḍita of the northern gate of Vikramaśīlā in the reign of King Canaka (A. D. 955—983). When Nag-tcho was staying at Vikramaśīlā as the messenger of Prince Chan Chub to take Atisa to Tibet Naropanta came on a visit to Vikramaśīlā and after handing over the ministry of the religion of Buddha to Atisa, proceeded towards the south where he died soon afterwards. Some relics of his remains were brought to Tibet by Atisa and they are said still to exist, being preserved in the sacred stupa of Hor at Nethan.²³⁵⁵ Tārānāth mentions Ācārya Kamala Rakṣita who was at the head of the Vikramaśīlā University and was able to repel a Turuṣka attack on the University.²³⁵⁶ According to Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa²³⁵⁷ Kamala Kuleśa, Dāna Rakṣita, Śubhakara-gupta and Sunāyakaśrī also belonged to this University.

This University was visited by eminent Tibetan scholars like Rinchhen Zan-po and Legs-pahi Serab who came under the instruction of the Tibetan King "Lha Lama Yes'e hod" to invite to Tibet a saintly Buddhist scholar for the reformation of Buddhism in Tibet.²³⁵⁸ It was soon visited by another Tibetan scholar Gya-tson Senga who came to Vikramaśīlā under the instructions of the same king to take Atisa to Tibet.²³⁵⁹ Another Tibetan scholar Nag-tcho visited

²³⁵⁴ Schiefner's Tārānāth, p. 255.

²³⁵⁵ S. C. Das—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow (1893), p. 60, 63-64

²³⁵⁶ Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 266, 261. Quoted in S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Med. Logic, pp. 151-52 footnote No. 2.

²³⁵⁷ Vidyābhūṣaṇa—Med. Logic p. 151.

²³⁵⁸ S. C. Das—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, p. 52.

²³⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

Vikramaśīlā as a messenger of Prince Chan Chub to invite Atisa to Tibet. Nag-teho met on his way a party of a Nepalese prince consisting of about ten men who were proceeding to Vikramaśīlā.²³⁶⁰ Nag-teho remained here for full three years and applied himself with assiduity in studying the sacred books and reading Sanskrit Buddhist literature under Sthavira Ratnākara. While at Vikramaśīlā he translated six books into Tibetan two of which he did with Atisa's help.²³⁶¹ "The pundits of Vikramaśīlā were teaching a certain Buddhist work which in Tibet was very little appreciated. There was a very good commentary upon it called *Suddha Vindu* (drops of nectar). Nag-teho translated it into Tibetan".²³⁶² He attended a grand congregation of eight thousand monks of all classes living in Vikramaśīlā, a graphic description of which as preserved by him is given by Mr. S. C. Das in his "Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow."²³⁶³

According to the Muhammadan historian Minhaz in the eightieth regnal year of Lakṣmaṇasena (i. e., Lakṣmaṇasena era 1119 A. D. + 80 = 1199 A. D.) Magadha was invaded by Bakhtyar who especially attacked the Buddhist monasteries including Vikramaśīlā. Tārānāth also refers to the destruction of Vikramaśīlā along with other monasteries by the Turuṣka king. According to Tārānāth²³⁶⁴ the king of Magadha had fortified Vikramaśīlā and stationed some soldiers there so that it easily attracted the attention of the Moslem conqueror. Moreover, as Dr. P. C. Roy,²³⁶⁵ relying on manuscripts, observes: "The monasteries had degenerated into hotbeds of corruption, so much so that the Mussalman conquerors felt little compunction in putting the inmates thereof to the sword."

ODANTAPURĪ MONASTERY.

Another monastic University was that of Odantapuri²³⁶⁶ which was established by Gopāla, the first king of the Pāla dynasty about the middle of

²³⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 57.

²³⁶¹ Ibid., p. 66.

²³⁶² Ibid., p. 64.

²³⁶³ pp. 59-60.

²³⁶⁴ Geschichte des Buddhismus Von Schiefner, pp. 259-61.

²³⁶⁵ History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. I, p. LXIX.

²³⁶⁶ or Odantapura.

the eighth century A. D.²³⁶⁷ But according to the writer of "Universities in Ancient India"²³⁶⁸ it was established long before the Pāla dynasty came to power in Magadha. It was situated near Pātaliputra but it is difficult to identify its exact site. This vihāra served as a model for the great monastery of Sam-ye in Tibet which was built by its king with the assistance of Śānta Rakṣitā.²³⁶⁹ It was famous as a stronghold of Tantric Buddhism. Ratnākara Śānti, one of the dwāra-paṇḍitas of Vikramaśilā was ordained in the Sarvāstivāda school of Odantipura.²³⁷⁰ Even Atisa, the High-priest of Vikramaśilā took the sacred vow at his nineteenth year from Śīla Rakṣita, the Mahāsaṅghika āchārya of Odantapura University.²³⁷¹ When Abhayakara-gupta was at the head of the Buddhist hierarchy of Magadha (that is, towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth Century A. D.) there were no less than one thousand Buddhist monks at Odantapuri as compared with three thousand monks at Vikramaśilā and one thousand at Mahābodhi.²³⁷² A monk of Odantapuri vihāra, Prabhākara²³⁷³ by name was the translator of "Sāmudhika—vyañjanu—varṇana" into Tibetan. This vihāra contained a splendid library which was destroyed by Bakhtyar and his troops. According to Tārānāth,²³⁷⁴ the King of Magadha fortified the monastery and stationed some troops with whom the monks joined in repulsing the invaders. The University was totally destroyed in 1199 A. D., for, the colophon of Pañchakara in the library of the University of Cambridge refers to the destruction of Odantapura in the thirty-eighth regnal year of Govindapāladeva who ascended the throne in 1161 A. D. Tārānāth observes: "The Turuṣka king..... conquered the whole of Magadha, killed many clerics at Odantapuri, destroyed this as well as Vikramaśilā and on the spot of the old vihāra

²³⁶⁷ V. A. Smith—Early History of India, p. 398.

²³⁶⁸ J. B. T. R. S., Vol. VII. Part IV. (1906) p. 21.

²³⁶⁹ S. C. Das in J. A. S. B., 1881, Part I. p. 226; Waddell's Lāmāism p. 28; Cosma de Koros—Tibetan Grammar, p. 183.

²³⁷⁰ S. C. Vidyābhāṣya—Med. Logic, p. 140.

²³⁷¹ S. C. Das—Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, p. 51.

²³⁷² P. N. Bose—Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 84, 157-58.

²³⁷³ Ibid., pp. 156-58.

²³⁷⁴ Schiefner's Tārānāth, pp. 259-61.

a fortress of the Turuṣkas was erected." Minhaz mentions Odantapuri as Adwand Vihar and writes : "Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar threw himself into the postern of the gateway of the place and gained possession of the place..... Most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmins with shaven heads (Buddhist monks). They were all slain. There was a great number of books which came under the observation of the Mussalmans. They summoned a number of Hindus that they might give them information respecting the import of these books but all the Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted, it was found that the whole of the fortress and city was a college and in the Hindi tongue, they called a college Vihāra".²³⁷⁵

THE JĀGADDALA VIHĀRA.

The Rāmacharita speaks of the Jāgaddala Mahāvihāra built by king Rāmapāla²³⁷⁶ in the city of Rāmābati founded by him on the banks of the Ganges and the Karatoyā in the country of Varendra.²³⁷⁷ Being thus founded in the beginning of the twelfth century this University lasted only for a century till the Muhammadan invasion of Bengal by Bukhtyar in 1203 swept it away. After the destruction of the monastery of Vikramaśīlā, Śākya Ś'ri Bhadra came to this vihāra whence he visited Tibet.²³⁷⁸

One of the great scholars of this University was Māhapāṇḍita Bibhūti-chandra. He was the author of six books in Sanskrit which he himself translated into Tibetan. He also translated into Tibetan about eighteen Sanskrit books written by others. He translated two of these books at Din-Ri, a plateau of Southern Tibet which shows that he visited that country.²³⁷⁹ Ācārya Dānaśīla otherwise known as Dānaśrīla also belonged to this University. He was born in Kashmere when Mahipāla was reigning in Bengal. He composed four books in Sanskrit, one of which

²³⁷⁵ Tabakāt-i-Nāṣari (Eng. Trans., by Major H. G. Raverty), 1881, Vol. I. p. 552.

²³⁷⁶ Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III. p. 47; Rāmacharita—M. M. Śāstrī, Ch. III. 5, 7.

²³⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

²³⁷⁸ Schiefner's Tārānāth, p. 255.

²³⁷⁹ Cordier—Catalogue du Fond Tibétain, pp. 19, 20; Kern—Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 134.

was on Logic and translated fifty-four books into Tibetan without aid and four more with the help of Jinamitra. The place where he translated "Kāka caritra" was the vihāra of Yar-kluns-than-poche in Central Tibet, which shows that he visited Tibet. Another scholar Paṇḍita Subhākara, otherwise known as Sumbhakara was the spiritual guide of Śākya Śrī probably Śākya S'ri Bhadra, the abbot of Vikramaśīlā and while at Jāgaddala wrote in Sanskrit "Siddhāika-vīra-tantrā-tikā"²³⁸⁰ Another scholar belonging to this vihāra was Mahāpaṇḍita Mokṣākara-gupta, the author of a famous book on Logic named "Tarka-bhāṣā".

ŚĀKYA MONASTERY.

Another great monastery was that of Śākya. It was built after the model of Odantapura which it followed in the details of monastic discipline and education. It became the seat of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet about 1202 A. D.

S'RĪDHANYA KATAKA.

Similary there was S'ridhanya Kataka which was situated on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in Vidarva (modern Amraoti). It attained the height of its fame as a seat of Brahminical and Buddhist learning during the time of siddha Nāgārjuna. The great monastic University of Du-pong near Lhasa with its six colleges was built after its model.

The Muhammadan conquest, however, led to the destruction of these monasteries in N. India. Kern²³⁸¹ observes: "The learned Śākyaśrī went to Orissa and afterwards to Tibet; Ratna Rakṣita to Nepal; Buddhamitra and others sought refuge in Southern India while Sangama-śrī-jñāna and several of his followers betook themselves to Burma, Camboja etc.....Many emigrants from Magadha rejoined their brethren in the south and founded colleges on a modest scale in Vijayanagara, Kalinga and Konkan. The comparatively satisfactory condition of Buddhism in the Deccan about this time is attested by the

²³⁸⁰ Catalogue du Fond Tibetain, II. p. 293.

²³⁸¹ Kern—Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 134.

rich donations to the monastery at Dambal". Thus the monks of the monasteries of Vikramaśilā and Odantapura on their dispersion carried with them their learning and arts in the same manner as the Byzantine Greeks on their expulsion from Constantinople bore with them their intellectual treasures to the Italian cities. In the kingdoms of the Deccan,²³⁸² in Nepal and in Tibet, the Buddhist scholars found hospitable asylums just as the Greek philosophers did in the Florentine Republic under the Medicii.

§ 14. SEATS OF LEARNING.

(i) BENARES.

Benares is one of the oldest seats of learning in India. In the Tittira Jātaka²³⁸³ we read that "a world-renowned professor of Benares gave instruction in science to five hundred young Brahmins" and afterwards repaired to a forest-home on the slopes of the Himalayas to carry on his educational work in that calm sylvan retreat. In the Kosiya Jātaka²³⁸⁴ it is stated that in the reign of king Brahmadata of Benares Bodhisattva being born in a Brahmin family became a renowned teacher at Benares and used to teach the three Vedas and the eighteen vijjās to Brahmin boys and kṣatriya princes. In the Jātaka period Benares was, however, largely the creation of the ex-students of Taxila. We find established there schools for the teaching of spells and magic charms by students trained in Taxila. For the study of the ordinary subjects there were of course already many schools.²³⁸⁵ Benares, however, was not without its own alumni as educationists. There are several references to teachers of world-wide fame with the usual number of 500 pupils to teach. The son of a Brahmin magnate is educated in Benares. There were again certain subjects in the teaching of which Benares seems to have specialised.

²³⁸³ Compare "The Deccan, which from the eleventh century was the refuge and centre of literary activity generally. In Hindusthan it had been substantially arrested by the inroads and the ravages of the Muhammadans"—Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 283.

²³⁸⁵ Jātaka III. 537.

²³⁸⁴ Jātaka I. p. 463.

²³⁸⁵ Jātaka Nos. 130, 185 etc.; Jātaka II. 99; I. 464.

There is a reference, for instance, to a school of music presided over by an expert who was the chief of his kind in all India.²³⁸⁶ Again it was at Benares that Paṇini wrote his famous grammar, that Kapila evolved his Sāṃkhya philosophy, that Yāska wrote his Nirukta and Gautama wrote his Nyāya-śāstra.²³⁸⁷ Śaṅkarācārya is said to have studied at Benares "the accepted touch-stone of all new doctrines from the ancient days even from the days of Buddha. There in Benares, Śaṅkara published his new doctrine of Vedānta and convinced the pundits of Benares of its truth".²³⁸⁸ Al Beruni²³⁸⁹ says: "The most generally known alphabet is called Siddhamātrkā.....the people of Kashmere use it. But it is also used in Vārāṇasī. This town and Kashmere are the high schools of Hindu sciences". According to Al Beruni,²³⁹⁰ owing to the plundering exploits of Mahmud "Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us and have fled to places where our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmere, Benares and other places". In the days of Al Beruni²³⁹¹ astronomy was specially cultivated at Benares where Vijayanandin composed his astronomical handbook entitled Karna-tilaka. It appears from the Āin-i-Ākbārī²³⁹² that Benares continued to be a flourishing seat of Hindu learning even in the sixteenth century.

(ii) UJJAIN.

According to Bāṇa²³⁹³ the inhabitants of Ujjain "are connoisseurs in all arts.....skilled in foreign languages, clever at subtleties of speech, versed in stories of all kinds, accomplished in letters, having a keen delight in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa, familiar with the Br̥hat-kathā, masters of the whole circle of arts.....lovers of śāstras, devoted to light literature". Ujjain's fame as a great centre of learning attracted Śaṅkarācārya who defeated here in argument a

²³⁸⁶ Jātaka I. 239; III. 18 and 233; IV. 237; Jātaka No. 243.

²³⁸⁷ Nagendra Nāth Som—Bārāṇasī (in Bengali), p. 21.

²³⁸⁸ C. V. Vaidya—Medieval Hindu India, Vol. II. p. 214.

²³⁸⁹ Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p. 173. ²³⁹⁰ Ibid., I. 22.

²³⁹¹ Ibid., I. p. 156.

²³⁹² Gladwin's Eng. Trans., p. 560.

²³⁹³ Kādambarī—C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 212.

Pāsupatāchārya. Al Beruni²³⁹⁴ relates the story of the alchemist Vyādi who was a veritable martyr to the science of alchemy. Ujjain was however famous for the study of astronomy and it became the meridian from which the Hindus counted the longitude of other places.²³⁹⁵

(iii) KANAUJ.

From the reign of Yaśovarman (675-710 A. D.) Kanauj became specially famous for its study of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā or the philosophy of Vedic ritual. Yaśovarman was the patron of Bhababhūti whose guru was the great apostle of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, Kumārila Bhatta, as is evidenced by a colophon of Bhababhūti's drama *Mālatīmādhava*. This together with the story that five Brahmins were sent from Kanauj to Bengal to revive orthodox Hindu customs there shows that Kanauj was a centre of Brahminical learning.

(iv) TANJORE.

Tanjore was famous for the cultivation of Nāṭyaśāstra and the sister arts of music and dancing. Rājaraṇja Chola (985-1014 A. D.) built music-halls for this purpose and invited and settled in Tanjore female dancers as also singers, pipers and drummers. Colleges were also built and learned teachers were appointed who taught literature and śāstras to students.²³⁹⁶

(v) KALYĀṆA.

Kalyāṇa was an ancient seat of learning, specially famous for its study of Law and Astronomy. At Kālyāṇa Vijñāneśwara composed the famous commentary on the Yājñabalkya Smṛti, called *Mitākṣarā* which is recognised even to this day as the leading authority on Hindu Law all over India except Bengal. King Someśwara III (1126-1138 A. D.) himself wrote the *Mānosollāsa* a compendium of many sciences and made a solid contribution to the science of Astronomy by giving the *Dhubāṅkas* (constants to be added).

²³⁹⁴ Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p. 189.

²³⁹⁵ Ibid., I. pp. 304, 311.

²³⁹⁶ Aiyar's Historical Sketch of the Ancient Deccan, p. 251.

(vi) Kāñchi.

Kāñchipuram was another great centre of learning and Hiuen Tsang had conversation with monks from Ceylon on Yoga philosophy here. Dharmapāla of Kāñchi defeated a hundred Hinayāna sūtrakāras in a discussion lasting for seven days. The Jaina Rājāvalikathā mentions Sāmantabhadra as having gone to Kāñchipuram a number of times and a Mysore inscription bears this out.²³⁹⁷ South of it there was "a large monastery which was a rendezvous of the most eminent men of the country".

(vii) PAITHAN.

Under the Śatabāhanas Paithan became one of the chief seats of learning in India. Its pre-eminence remained so far recognised that even during Muhammadan and Maharatta times complicated cases were settled at Paithan under the Panchayets of its learned men. That Paithan was famous for the cultivation of sciences is evident from Kathāsaritsāgara²³⁹⁸ where we are told of one Devadatta by name who went to an old preceptor named Mantraswāmin in Pratiṣṭhāna and acquired a perfect knowledge of the sciences.

Besides these, there were in Northern India Peshwar, Mathurā²³⁹⁹ and Sārnātha famous for their schools of sculpture, Multan famous for its study of Astronomy and Mithilā and Navadvīpa for their schools of Logic. In Southern India Karavir, Giri and Vijayanagara were also famous seats of learning.

²³⁹⁷ Inscription of Śrāvastī Belgolā in Ep. Carn., Vol. II. Revised No. 44, Quoted by S. V. Venkateswara in his Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I.

²³⁹⁸ Penzer, Vol. I. p. 79.

²³⁹⁹ Cunningham observes: "Everywhere in the north-west, I find that the old Buddhist statues are made of Sikri sandstone from which it would appear that Mathurā must have been a great manufactory for the supply Buddhist sculptures in Northern India."

CHAPTER XII.

AGENCIES OF EDUCATION.

§1. CARAKAS OR WANDERING STUDENTS.

Instruction was derived not merely from the regular teachers settled in the various seats of learning where they admitted their pupils but also from other sources. Such for instance were the Carakas or wandering students. According to Śaṅkara they were called Carakas because they were observing (car) a vow for the sake of learning. The word occurs in one of the inscriptions of Usavadāta at Nasik—Caraka parṣabhyah—where there is a reference to Brahminical schools at four places named in the record.²⁴⁰⁰ The Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad²⁴⁰¹ refers to a band of wandering students travelling as far north as the land of the Madras. The Kathāsaritsāgara²⁴⁰² also refers to a brāhmaṇa student Śaktideva by name who “was roaming through the earth in quest of knowledge”. Though not normally competent as teachers, these travelling students are yet regarded as possible sources of popular enlightenment by the S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa.²⁴⁰³

The discussions in which these wandering students engaged themselves were not always due to accidental²⁴⁰⁴ meetings as between Yājñabalkya and Janaka in the S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa but were sometimes deliberately challenged in a foreign region by the visiting scholars who would even throw down a prize for victory. In the S’atapatha Brāhmaṇa²⁴⁰⁵ Uddālaka Aruṇi, a Kuru-pāñchāl Brahmin, goes north where he offers a gold coin as prize, “for the sake of calling out the timid to a disputation”. Seized with fear the Brahmins of the northern country challenged him to a disputation on religious matters with Svaīdāyana i. e., S’aunaka as their champion. In the end Uddālaka finds himself unable to answer all the questions put to him by S’aunaka, so he “gave

²⁴⁰⁰ Ind. Ant., 1883, p. 30.

²⁴⁰² Penzer's edition, Vol. II. p. 174,

²⁴⁰⁴ XI. 6. 2.

²⁴⁰¹ III. 3. 1. 7. 1.

²⁴⁰³ IV. 2. 4.

²⁴⁰⁵ XI. 4. 1f.

him the gold coin". Thus education besides that imparted by the schools, was largely spread and promoted in its higher stages by learned travelling scholars of different provinces who would seek such opportunities of establishing their philosophical positions or scientific theories and thereby their intellectual status and eminence in the realm of letters.²⁴⁰⁶

§2. ASCETIC TEACHERS.

Another factor of importance in the educational life of India in ancient times as to some extent even to-day was the influence of wandering monks and Sannyāsins. Hiuen Tsang was impressed by their wide learning and spirit of self-sacrifice. "Though their family be in affluent circumstances, such men make up their minds to be like vagrants and wander here and there to get their subsistence. Though they are not moved by honour or reproach, their fame is far spread. Even kings treated them with great respect. They were greatly versed in antiquity and they devoted their time to the cultivation of knowledge".²⁴⁰⁷ Thus could India show in abundance men who renounced the riches and the comforts of home, the many pleasures of social life and even the love of fame ('that last infirmity of noble minds') as so many impediments to the quest of Truth. Attaining truth they were anxious to impart it to their fellows. As Hiuen Tsang²⁴⁰⁸ says: "Forgetting fatigue, they "expatiate in the arts and sciences"; seeking for wisdom while "relying on perfect virtue" they "count not 1000 *li*"²⁴⁰⁹ a long journey". With the revival of Hinduism under S'aṅkara, the Sannyāsins living in the convents established by him, called S'aṅkarāchāryas were required to tour from village to village, within their own jurisdiction, settling disputes relating to caste, conduct or creed, solving the doubts and difficulties of local priests, advising the people to follow their Dharma and at times establishing institutions for the education of the young or

²⁴⁰⁶ For an account of the *Wanderjahre* of young brāhmaṇa students See Dr. Bahler's Introduction to *Bikramāṅkacharita*.

²⁴⁰⁷ Beal—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 79; Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. p. 160.

²⁴⁰⁸ Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. p. 161.

²⁴⁰⁹ 1 *li* = 4 miles.

for the support of Sannyāsins. Thus in these travelling bands of ascetic teachers ancient India found the real educators of thought who did more to spread education and enlightenment in the country than any paid or official agency. *The people found their own teachers irrespective of the state.*

§3. BRAHMABĀDA OR DISCUSSIONS NEAR A SACRIFICE.

Another great educational influence in the country was the occasional concourse of learned men gathered together at the courts and palaces of kings by the sessions of sacrifices they used to celebrate with due pomp and liberality. It was customary in those days to arrange in connection with these sacrifices some interesting and instructive functions like the recitation of sacred books at some convenient hour of the day, which could be attended by the public at large. It was during sacrifices that S'ukadeva recited Bhāgavat to Janamejaya, that Sūta told the Purāṇas to ṛṣis. It was at the snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya that Vaiśampāyana recited the Mahābhārata.²⁴¹⁰ Similarly, at a sacrifice lasting for twelve years performed by kulapati S'aunaka in Naimiṣāranya Ugrasrabā recited the Purāṇas.²⁴¹¹ Thus the celebration of religious sacrifices was the principal agency for the promulgation and *popularisation of original literary works of national interest and importance.*

The Upaniṣads also emphasise *the other feature* of these learned gatherings viz., that they provided the arena where scholars seeking to establish their intellectual position entered the list in tournaments of debate. These discussions were called Brahmabāda and references to to them are often met with in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, Bṛhadāranyaka and Chhāndogya Upaniṣads. It was in such a sacrifice that Uśaṣṭi Chakrāyana challenged the priests to explain the nature of their deities and on their silence did so himself.²⁴¹² This feature is also noticed in the Mahābhārata²⁴¹³ where it is stated how learned Brahmins were flocking to the sacrifice of Janaka "for the purpose of

²⁴¹⁰ Mahābhārata, Ādiparba, Anukramanikādhyāya. Compare Ādiparba, 59th adhyāya,

²⁴¹¹ Ibid., Ādiparba, 4th adhyāya, Pañcamaśvamedhyāya.

²⁴¹² Chhāndogya Up., I. 10, 11.

²⁴¹³ III. 132-34.

listening to controversies " and the recitation of the Vedas. Thither came Aṣṭabakra but the entrance to the assembly was barred by the gate-keeper who under orders from the learned chief, Vaṇḍi, was to admit only old and learned Brahmins. Aṣṭabakra had thus first to convince the gate-keeper of his eligibility for membership of that learned assembly and addressed him as follows: "O gate-keeper, you will to-day see me engaged in a controversial fight with all the learned men and get the better of Vaṇḍi himself in argument." In the end Aṣṭabakra came out victorious, with his supremacy acknowledged by the whole assembly.

These discussions of learned men "*sitting near*" the sacrificial fire were later on written down and called Upaniṣads. Such debates at times resulted in philosophical investigations and the pompous hollowness of the ritual appealed to some thoughtful minds. They were then put down in black and white in course of time for the guidance of future generations and the writings came to be known as Āraṇyakas or discussions near Araṇi (wooden pieces by the friction of which sacrificial fire was produced) and later on probably it became traditional to read them in *sylvan* solitude and not in the presence of the common people who could appreciate the external form of anything better than the underlying truth.²⁴¹⁴

Such discussions were the most *economical* and *effective* source of popular enlightenment. The kings spent little on them directly and yet encouraged a devoted class of teachers whose duty it was to lead a simple life, to cultivate high thinking, to keep learning (religious though it was) alive and to help other members of the society to follow suit. The religious commandments had a great hold on the individual mind and such progress was achieved as would have been impossible by the enforcement of secular laws. Superstition and mysticism might have been great defects in the system as propagated by the Brāhmaṇas; but the Upaniṣads marked a definite improvement upon them. In a number of places, the nature of several deities was

challenged by bold seekers after the truth like Uśāsti Chakrāyana and pure rational philosophy was taught by them instead of dogmatic explanation.

§ 4. RECITATION OF ŚĀSTRAS SPECIALLY AT A ŚRĀDDHA.

Another agency of popular enlightenment was the recitation of śāstras on the occasion of śrāddha ceremonies. *Manu*²⁴¹⁵ says: "During the śrāddha repast Vedas, Purāṇas, Itihāsas and Khilas should be recited to brāhmaṇa guests when they would be eating." *Viṣṇu Saṃhita*²⁴¹⁶ says: "This code should be studied, remembered and recited to others. Persons, deserving good, shall hear it narrated during the celebrations of a śrāddha ceremony." In the *Mahābhārata*²⁴¹⁷ we are told that if a man arranges for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* to the Brahmins at a śrāddha, then his dead ancestors get eternal food and drink. If he arranges for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* on Parva days, then his sins are removed and he is assured of his residence in Brahmaloka for ever."

Aśwaghōṣa mentions a simple headman of a village listening to the recital of the Epics delivered by the Brahmins.²⁴¹⁸ *Bāṇa*²⁴¹⁹ also refers to *Kādambarī* "giving her attention to the recitation of the *Mahābhārata*..... by Nārada's sweet-voiced daughter, with the accompaniment of flutes soft as the murmur of bees, played by a pair of kinnaras sitting behind her." In *Harṣacharita*²⁴²⁰ we are told of the recitation of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* by the reader Sudriste before Bāṇa and his relatives. A copper-plate grant²⁴²¹ of a Pāla king has been found which makes the interesting statement that a village was granted as dakṣiṇā to a Brahmin for reading the whole of the *Mahābhārata* to his queen Chitramatikā.

§5. PUBLIC RELIGIOUS TOURNAMENTS.

Public religious tournaments were another agency of popular education. The Indo-Aryan mind always took delight in logically

²⁴¹⁵ Ch. III; M. N. Dutt's Trans., p. 232.

²⁴¹⁸ Ch. C. śl. 3.

²⁴¹⁷ *Ādi-parva*, 62nd adhyāya.

²⁴¹⁹ S. V. Venkateswara—*Indian Culture Through the Ages*, Vol. I. p. 212.

²⁴²⁰ *Kādambarī*—C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 162.

²⁴²¹ Eng. Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, p. 72.

²⁴²² J. R. A. S. B., XIX., Part I. p. 66.

discussing the various questions of religion and philosophy. Buddhism specially was fond of such discussions. The development of Nyāya philosophy which Buddhism to some extent made its own lent indeed a scholastic character to such discussions and there was no criterion of truth except the opponents's defeat in discussion. Yet these discussions have an interest and a value of their own as reason was held supreme.²⁴²² The discussion between the Buddhist patriarch Parsva and the Brahmin scholar Aśwaghōṣa took place as early as the first century B. C. Even before this, in the age of Aśoka such discussions between scholars of different sects took place and a special edict enjoins upon them toleration, respect for the truth in each system and restraint of speech in controversy.²⁴²³ The following dialogue²⁴²⁴ between Milindā and Nāgasena is quoted to show what was thought to be the proper mode of carrying on discussions in the days of those notable persons:—

The King said: 'Reverend Sir, will You discuss with me again?'

'If Your Majesty will discuss as a scholar (paṇḍita), will; but if you will discuss as a king, no.'

'How is it then that scholars discuss?'

'When scholars talk a matter over with one another then there is a winding up, an unravelling; one or other is convicted of error; and he then acknowledges his mistake, distinctions are drawn, and contradistinctions; and yet thereby they are not angered. Thus do scholars, O king, discuss.'

'And how do kings discuss?'

'When a king, Your Majesty, discusses a matter, and he advances a point, if any one differ from him on that point, he is apt to fine him, saying: "Inflict such and such a punishment on that fellow!" Thus, Your Majesty, do kings discuss.'

'Very well. It is as a scholar, not as a king, that I will discuss. Let Your Reverence, talk unreservedly, as you would with a brother, or a novice, or a lay disciple, or even with a servant. Be not afraid?'

²⁴²² C. V. Vaidya—Med. India, Vol. III. ²⁴²³ Rock Edict XII.

²⁴²⁴ Rhys Davids—Questions of King Milindā in the S. B. E. Series, Vol. XXXV., p. 46.

In the time of Chandragupta Vikramāditya of Ujjain, a great disputation between the two exponents of Hinduism and Buddhism was held on the subject of sense perceptions. Monoratha, the champion of Buddhism was worsted in the discussion owing to the Brahminical bias of the king. But in the next reign, Vasubandhu, the favourite disciple of Manoratha won the victory for Buddhism and his guru.²⁴²⁵ Hiuen Tsang refers to Buddhist monasteries as the constant scenes of such discussions, for, the monks residing therein having no care for their maintenance had ample time for *study and disputations* besides performing their religious exercises. The Buddhists themselves were divided into eighteen sects and had as many disputations among themselves as with outsiders. Hiuen Tsang himself took part in such a debate arranged by the king of Kapisa where he defeated after a five days' discussion all his opponents.²⁴²⁶ He also discussed the the difficult parts of the doctrine in an open conference at the Jayendra convent.²⁴²⁷ He also describes the great assemblies of learned men which were convened at the time of the quinquennial alms-giving ceremonies which Harṣa used to hold at Prayāga and at the last of which Hiuen Tsang himself was the president. The usual procedure in such assemblies was that some one made a declaration of his doctrines and called upon all present to refute them. Sometimes a written declaration was posted at the gate of a monastery calling upon adversaries to tear it. Hiuen Tsang tells us of one such declaration posted by a Brahmin opponent to the door of the Nālandā monastery which nobody daring to tear up he himself tore and then entering upon a controversy with the Brahmin defeated him.²⁴²⁸ We learn from the Pattinappālai that men of learning and reputation put up flags, inviting combatants to challenge their scholarship.²⁴²⁹ Again Guṇavati, a follower of Buddhism defeated a Sāṃkhya student named Mādhava in Magadha. In a seven days' discussion Dharmapāla of Kañchi silenced one hundred Hīnayāna monks in the Viśoka monastery.

²⁴²⁵ Watters—Yuan Chwang p. 212.

²⁴²⁶ Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 56-57.

²⁴²⁷ Ibid., p. 69.

²⁴²⁸ Ibid., pp. 161-64.

²⁴²⁹ S. V. Venkateswara—Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I, p. 252.

References are found to the erection of five monasteries to commemorate the victories of five Buddhist scholars in Srughna over Jaina monks. Āryadeva,²⁴³⁰ an eminent disciple of Nāgārjuna visited the countries of Mahākośala, Srughna, Prayāga, Chola and Vaiśālī in all of which he won great renown by defeating the Tirthikas. Dignāga²⁴³¹ made the University buildings of Nālandā "resound with the exposition of the various points at issue" and defeated the Brahmin Sudurjjaya and many Tirtha dialecticians. He travelled through Orissa and Mahārāstra to the south, meeting Tirtha controversialists in discussion. For his success as a debator he was called "Bull in discussion". Dharmakīrti²⁴³² defeated in debates Kaṇādagupta and other followers of the Tirtha system and when this success enraged Kumārila he defeated the latter with his five hundred followers. He further withstood the Nirgranthas, Rāhuvratins and others who lived within the range of the Vindhya mountains. In the century that followed Harṣa's death we know that Śaṅkara and Kumārila went to all the important seats of learning in order to propagate their own views after defeating their opponents. Śīlabhadra, a Brahmin prince of Magadha, conquered a South Indian scholar who had challenged the learning of his guru. I-Tsing²⁴³³ also refers to such tournaments being held in his time. Says he: "To try the sharpness of their wit, they (eminent and accomplished scholars) proceed to the king's court to lay down before it the sharp weapon of their abilities.....when they are present in the House of Debate, they raise their seat and seek to prove their wonderful cleverness. When they are refuting heretical doctrines, all their opponents become tongue-tied and acknowledge themselves undone. Then the sound of their fame makes the five mountains (of India) vibrate and their renown flows, as it were, over the four borders. They receive grants of land and are advanced to a high rank: their famous names are as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates". Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*²⁴³⁴

²⁴³⁰ Beal—Buddhist Records, Vol. I. Bk. IV. pp. 186-90; Bk. V. p. 231; Vol. II. Bk. X. pp. 210, 277; Bk. XII. p. 302; Bk. VIII. pp. 98-102.

²⁴³¹ S. O. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—Med. Logic, p. 80.

²⁴³² Ibid., p. 104.

²⁴³³ Takakusu's Eng. Trans., p. 176ff.

²⁴³⁴ I. 178; Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 32.

also refers to such tournaments between Buddhist monks and Brahmin scholars. Jaina scholars like Vijayapandita also scored eminent success in such public discussions held in various parts of Southern India. An inscription of Kubja Viṣṇuvarḍhana refers to youths eloquent at discussions who are honoured by the chief people of the locality who had made them serve on the committee of five.²⁴³⁵ Such discussions are also referred to in many Kadamba inscriptions.²⁴³⁶ The fame that followed a successful disputant in these tournaments was so great that it must have been an inducement to all scholars to persevere in the subtle theories of metaphysics and religion. This must have kept the standard of intellectual attainment very high among the theologians and professors and it must have reacted powerfully on the educational atmosphere of the country.

§ 6. FUNCTIONS CONNECTED WITH TEMPLE WORSHIP.

With the revival of Hinduism under Śaṅkara some interesting functions came to be arranged in connection with temple worship to attract men, women and children. They took various forms and included music and pantomime, discourses by learned men on religious topics, and recitation of the śāstras and the Purāṇas. From Bāṇa's Kādambari we learn that queen Vilāsabati heard the recitation of the Mahābhārata in the temple of Mahākāla in Ujjain. An inscription at Śendalai²⁴³⁷ provides for the reading of the Mahābhārata in the Sundarēśwara temple. Objects of show and curiosity, wild animals tamed and confined to a cage, monkeys trained to perform feats, the cobra made to dance to simple music, the elephant adorned with a howdah and caprisoned in oriental fashion, horses and bullocks drawing the hackneys and stately carriages to the music of tinkling cymbals on their necks—the combination of these had the effect on the spectator of a circus, a park and a museum placed within his reach free of cost. These agencies of popular education in the broadest sense radiated from the temple as the centre of such activities.

²⁴³⁵ Pañcavārim Samāpayya vāragoṭṭhiṇa vāgminah—Ep. Ind., V. lines 27, 28.

²⁴³⁶ Fleet's Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions, Nos. 37 etc.

²⁴³⁷ Madras Ep. Rep., for 1899, para. 9.

§ 7. BUDDHIST AGENCIES OF EDUCATION.

Other agencies of education are referred to in the Vinaya-pitaka which provide ample opportunities for the converts to come into frequent contact with the Buddhist monks. They met at the monasteries on the 8th, 14th, and 15th day of every lunar fortnight at gatherings in which the monks delivered religious discourses and dispelled doubts on the points about which questions were put to them. Fa-hsien²⁴³⁸ also says that "in Ceylon on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth of each month, at all points where the four roads meet, a lofty dais is arranged where ecclesiastics and lay men come together from all quarters to hear the faith expounded." Every morning they came into contact with the monks begging alms from door to door. Though long religious discourses were not suitable for such occasions they could have been easily utilised for imparting to them bits of teachings intended to wear off their attachment to worldly matters and stimulate their eagerness to subject themselves rigidly to moral and religious discipline—the path to salvation. The afternoons were allowed by the rules of the monasteries to be utilised by the householders by coming there and having spiritual enlightenment from the monks through conversation and religious discourses. The householders were also permitted to invite to meals the monks singly or by batches and these occasions were similarly utilised for purposes of religious enlightenment.

In his 'sermons on stone' Aśoka gave to his subject-peoples of different communities, castes and creeds, certain common and cardinal ideals of thought and conduct which make him Humanity's first teacher of Universal Morality and Religion. These sermons meant to be read by the people at large were necessarily given at all important centres of his far-flung Empire and as they were meant to last for a long time, they were engraved on the most durable material, stone. In one of these sermons we are told that 'everywhere in his dominions his officers of all ranks—the Yuktas, the Rājukas and the Prādesīkas must go out on tours (anusamyāna), each every

²⁴³⁸ Eng. Trans., by Giles, pp. 69-70.

five years, as well for their ordinary administrative business as for the special purpose of inculcating the Dhamma".²⁴³⁹ This scheme of religious tours by his officers received a further development in the institution of a special class of officers the Dharma-mahāmātras, charged with the duty of attending to the moral and spiritual welfare of his subjects.²⁴⁴⁰ He himself would have none of the tours of pleasure of his predecessors but would instead have only "religious tours"—holding "religious conferences with the people".²⁴⁴¹ He thus sought occasions of personal intercourse with his subjects to *educate them to lead a better life* and not his own sport or pleasure.

§ 8. ART AS AN AGENCY OF EDUCATION.

Where Nature failed to supply the facilities for the propagation of his Dhamma the aid of Art was invoked: huge monolithic columns were specially fashioned for the purpose and planted in places where a suitable rocky surface was not available to receive the Emperor's message in inscriptions. One of the Edicts itself informs us that "this message of the Emperor must be written on the rocks or wherever there are blocks or pillars of stone".²⁴⁴² King Bhoja had Sanskrit aphorisms inscribed on slabs in the Sanskrit College at Dhar.²⁴⁴³ Moreover, both in Hindu and Buddhist art we observe a tendency to the increasing use of symbolism for making teaching concrete to the masses. Fa-hien describes a rock-cut monastery in Southern India as having five stages.²⁴⁴⁴ The lowest is made with elephant figures and has five hundred cells in it. The second is made with lion-shapes and has four hundred chambers. The third is made with horse-shapes and has three hundred chambers. The fourth is made with ox-shapes and has two hundred chambers. The fifth has dove-shapes and has a hundred chambers in it. The animals represented in architecture are in the same order. They seem to point to the philosophical teaching of the Vedānta that the gross body, the vital

²⁴³⁹ Rock Edict III.

²⁴⁴⁰ Pillar Edict VII.

²⁴⁴¹ Rock Edict VIII.

²⁴⁴² Minor Rock Edict I, (Rāpanāth Text).

²⁴⁴³ Luard and Lele—The Paramāras of Dhar and Malwa.

²⁴⁴⁴ Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World, I. pp. 68, 69.

airs (lion), the senses (horses), the mind (ox) and knowledge (dove) are in the relation of sheaths of the soul in due order.²⁴⁴⁵ Again, as we enter a temple, the first thing that strikes us is the sculptural scenery on the walls and panelled ceiling, on the gateways and elsewhere. These pictures were designed to impart instruction in all the departments of learning which were directly or remotely connected with religion. The figures of the God-head as Creator, Preserver and Destroyer are easily recognised and explained. But there are numerous other figures of sages, heroes and devotees whose stories are familiar to the pilgrim in the legendary lore of the Purāṇas and the Epics, or even in the local legends and stories passing from the mouth to the ear. On the walls of some of the temples or on the stones paving the floor are found scenic representations of the Rāmāyaṇa, as at Kumbakonam and Tellicherry: or stories from the Mahābhārata depicted on the wooden ceiling as at Vaikam, Craganore etc. On the temple at Chidambaram²⁴⁴⁶ we have sculptures of the various forms of dancing mentioned in the Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra and referred to in the Kāmasūtras. In describing the painting on the walls of the dancing-hall of the king of Vijayanagara Paes²⁴⁴⁷ writes: "The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is the end of the dance. By that way they keep in mind what they have to do". In the basement of an old temple of Mahādeva in the fort of Dhaner in the Himalayan kingdom of Nurpur we similarly find very beautiful figures carved in stone, depicting scenes from the Purāṇas. The sculptures in the four gateways in the Sāñchi Tope "form a perfect picture Bible of Buddhism as it existed in the first century A. D.". The same principle is reflected in Iconography. "The coins of the Kushanas show Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Gaṇalakṣmī. The purpose of iconographic

²⁴⁴⁵ S. V. Venkateswara: Symbolism in Indian Art in Rūpam for April, 1927.

²⁴⁴⁶ Madras Epigraphy Report for 1913 and Plate.

²⁴⁴⁷ Sewell—A Forgotten Empire, p. 289.

representation in this case was simply to show the regenerative power of God, of which the phallus was the most popular symbol. Generation of a newer order arises from the destruction of the older: hence the weapons in the hands of Śiva. Gaṇeśa is the god of learning, representing the mind surmounting obstacles (vighna) and developing additional power with every act of surmounting. The persistency of mental application is represented by the rat-flag, and the weight and deliberation of the matured mind by the elephant with the single tusk, as contrasted with the fleeting mind of the spiritually undeveloped, which we find represented as a horse or more often as a bull, in sculpture. It is along the lines of Tāntric symbolism that we could discover the meaning of the coin-ornaments. We have the full-fledged story of Gaṇeśa on a coin of Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇī. There is an elephant starting from a palm tree, facing a sword, with a goddess on each side. The palm-fruit with its three eyes represents Śiva, the father Gaṇeśa, the third eye being the eye of wisdom giving birth to spiritual fire. The goddesses at the sides are intellect, calm, cool and concentrated (Buddhi) and knowledge of the reality (Chit), of which the aspirant catches only a passing glimpse. These are confronted by the forces of evil, which are represented sword in hand. The Buddhist emblems of chaitya and tree, which are the generators of the wisdom of the Buddha, are more easily explained. The fire-worship of the Sassanians appears to be symbolised by the fire-altar on the Indo-Sassanian coins. Far the greatest gain to religion and philosophy was the conception and carving of Divinity as Natarāja dancing in life to the fiddling of fate; dressed in daintiness and delight illumined by flickering patches of memory that float upon the face of dark oblivion (apasmāra), which is crushed under foot—the void whose name is Death. His spouse is joy unalloyed, free from the vesture of flowing, flapping drapery, clothed in the calmness and repose of her magnetic and mastering smile. The death of the old has no terrors: it is soothing and serene when it is learnt that it is the entrance to a new life.²⁴⁴⁸

²⁴⁴⁸ Contrast with the modern view: 'Death is a state of protoplasmic immobility, of infinite functional inertia Latent life and not sleep is the image of death..... In life the sands of time are running out rapidly; in latent life the stream has been mysteriously arrested; in death the sand is all in the lower globe, never to leave it.' (Prof. D. F. Harris in *Chambers' Journal* for 1926).

The savour and scent of music sets young life leaping and laughing in glee. So goes the round of dying and deathless life, changing form to adjust itself to new conditions, for, survival after fitness for use is death. Corresponding to this conception of Śiva as the master-dancer Natarāja, we have that of Viṣṇu as Raṅganātha, the Lord of the Stage which is this phenomenal world. The sculptures at Deogarh and Mahāmāllapuram agree in painting the God Anantaśayana as the Spiritual Omega of existence resting in the lap of hydra-headed Space on the ocean of Time (Ananta). He is also the Spiritual Alpha of a new order, as life is on the dawn of bloom like the lotus of Creation, from which emerges the Creator facing all the cardinal points, and the whole gamut of gods and the Forces of Nature are wakeful and watching how the Infinite manifests itself in the new order of creation".²⁴⁴⁹

§9. THE STAGE AS AN AGENCY OF EDUCATION.

That the drama was an allegory and a vehicle of high class instruction is clear from one of the fragments of two Indian dramas (probably written by Aśvaghoṣa) discovered by Luders among the Turfan palm-leaf manuscripts. One of these two contains a scene in which the allegorical figures of wisdom, endurance and fame (Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrti) appear to glorify the Buddha. Though the piece is only fragmentary Dr. Nirañjana Chakrabarty (in his *India and Central Asia*) thus gives us an idea of the nature of its contents:—

"So long as there is suffering, leading to rebirth" says the Buddha "there is nothing worth giving up, there would be nothing worth knowing whether it is constant and inconstant? He concludes his speech by saying: 'I take pleasure in him who has gained the highest peace, the highest immortality and the truth hard to obtain.'"

To this answers Dhṛti: True it is. By my might is surrounded that 'Light' which bears the name 'Man' and which has now become manifest (in the world).....

²⁴⁴⁹ Professor S. V. Venkateswara—*Indian Culture Through the Ages*, Vol. I, pp. 223-25.

Dhṛti—Verily this is a couple. Where there is Buddhi there is place for Dhṛti, where Dhṛti is established, there Buddhi finds rooms to extend herself.

Kīrti—If such be the case, for you two.....

B.—It is so. Again one who has no Buddhi is always like one in sleep, one who is devoid of Dhṛti is always like one got drunk...one who has no fame.....

K.—Where is now this Dharma, in the form of a man?

B.—Where does he not exist, he who is independent in his supernatural might?..... He flies through the air like a bird, he moves along.....remains without being dependent (on anything), he percolates through the earth like water, he divides his form in manifold ways, he pours down showers of rain from the sky, at the same time he shines like an evening cloud, he moves about according to his free will.....and in the right way does he pursue the Dharma.

Dh.—To him shall we then take our resort. This great sage lives at the present moment in the park of the city of Magadha..... The speech of the trio ends with this and then enters Bhagabat himself surrounded by a halo of light. We also know from the *Avadānaśataka*²⁴⁵⁰ which was already translated into Chinese in the 3rd Century A. D., and therefore must have been written at a much earlier time, that a Buddha Drama was enacted by the actors of the Deccan in the presence of King Sobhavati, in which the director himself appeared as the Buddha and others as monks. Professor Sylvain Levi has also referred to another story found in the *Kan-hgyur*. An actor from the Deccan composed a drama containing the history of the Buddha upto his attainment of Bodhi and performed it before king Bimbisāra. Harṣa had his drama *Nāgānanda* (based on the story of Bodhisattva Jimūtavāhana surrendering himself in place of a Nāga) set to music and performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting.²⁴⁵¹ Harṣa also had Chandradāsa's

Viśwāntara and Aśwaghōṣa's Buddhacharita versified and set to dancing and music.²⁴⁵² All these show that already at a very early time Buddhism had given up its highly antagonistic attitude towards the theatre and even went so far as to make use of the *stage as a means of propaganda for its teachings*, nor had the Buddhists any hesitation to allow the Buddha appear on the stage impersonated by the ordinary actors.

In Bhababhūti's Uttara-Rāma-charita, Act IV, (Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., p. 69) we are told by Lava that a certain section of the Rāmāyana has been turned by Vālmiki into a distinct type of work, full of sentiment and adopted to dramatic representation and sent to Bharata, the author of the aphorisms of Dramaturgy. Kṛṣṇamiśra's dramā Prabodha-Chandrodaya (based on Vedānta philosophy, all the *dramatis personæ* therein being allegorical representation of knowledge, devotion etc.) was acted about 1065 A. D. in the court of Kirtivarman, the Chandel King of Bundelkhund. A drama composed by Madana was acted in the Sanskrit College at Dhar on the occasion of a spring festival.²⁴⁵³ The Pārijātamañjuri of Vijayaśrī was acted for the first time in the Sanskrit College in Dhar at the spring festival.²⁴⁵⁴ Rājārāja I also instituted the representation on the stage of a drama called Rājārājeśwari nātaka.²⁴⁵⁵ An inscription in the ninth year of Rājārāja I records a gift of land by the assembly of Śāttanūr to Kumaran Śikaṇṭhan, a professional actor, for staging the seven acts of Āryakūṭten. For the maintenance of a nānāvidha-nāṭaśālā provision is made in an inscription of Rājakeśari Kulottunga. The performance of the Agamārgam at Tiruvorriyūr was attended by Rājārāja III.²⁴⁵⁶ According to Kautilya²⁴⁵⁷ "If a man who has not co-operated in preparing for a public play or spectacle is found hearing or witnessing it hiding..... he shall be compelled to pay double the value of the aid due from him." That such shows were regularly held follow quite clearly from

²⁴⁵² Ibid., p. 165.

²⁴⁵⁴ Edited by E. Hultzsch, p. 3. (verse 5).

²⁴⁵⁵ South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 306.

²⁴⁵⁶ Annual Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, 1921-22, p. 117.

²⁴⁵⁷ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmaśāstri's Eng. Trans.), p. 220.

²⁴⁵³ Luard and Lole—The Paramāras of Dhar and Malwa.

innumerable references to professional actors in Sanskrit and Pali literature.²⁴⁵⁸

§ 10. TRAVEL AS AN AGENCY OF EDUCATION.

Travel in foreign lands is also a fruitful source of education. Education in politics through taking part in administrative institutions even as audience is highly recommended in modern times. In this connection we may well quote the following lines from Śukranītisāra²⁴⁵⁹ "One should without loth undertake travels, attend royal courts, study śāstras, see prostitutes and make friends with the learned. Through travel the numerous religious (customs), materials, animals, races of men, hills etc., come within the cognisance of man. The man who habitually attends courts and assemblies acquires knowledge as to the character of king and royal officers, the nature of justice and injustice, the men who falsely quarrel and the men who have real grounds of conflict and the procedure of cases and suits both customary and legal." In another passage, Śukrāchārya suggests the practice of undertaking distant tours. Says he: "In foreign lands, the following six are useful to men—wife without child, good conveyance, the bearer, the guard, the knowledge that can be of use in relieving other's miseries and an active servant."²⁴⁶⁰ It appears from the Kāvyamīmāṃsā²⁴⁶¹ that ancient poets used to travel to foreign countries and islands and utilised their experience in those countries in their works.

Indeed it was quite usual for students to go far from their homes in search of higher education. Even after finishing their education at a distant University town like Taxila or Benares the students of those days undertook an expensive travel to give a practical turn to their theoretical

²⁴⁵⁸ Milindā-Paṭha, I. 191; Jātaka II. 12; Jātaka VI. 191; Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, Ch. III; Maṇu III. 155, 158; Maṇu IV. 214; Maṇu XII. 45; Bandhāyana I. 5. 24; Vasiṣṭha III. 3; Viṣṇu LI. 14.

²⁴⁵⁹ Ch. III. lines 260-67.

²⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., lines 595-97.

²⁴⁶¹ Kiūchana mahākavyopi deśadwīpāntarakathāpuraṇādidarśhanena tatratyāṇi byabahr̥tīm nibadhnantisma—p. 12 (Gekwad Oriental Series).

Parbe hi bidwāṃsaḥ sahasraśākhāṇi saṃgamā cha vedamabagābhyā śāstrāpi chābabuddhaya deśāntarāpi dwīpāntarāpi cha paribhramya.—p. 78 (G. O. S.).

studies at the colleges and qualify themselves for the life in the world by broadening the range of their experiences and deepening their insight into human affairs by a first hand study of the diverse manners and customs prevailing in the different parts of the country, as also to get inured to hardships. Thus a prince of Magadha after mastering all the arts at Taxila wandered through towns, villages and all the land to acquire all practical usages and understand country observances.²⁴⁶² We have mention of another student, Śvetaketu, of Taxila who similarly "wandered, learning all practical arts."²⁴⁶³ There is mentioned another prince of Magadha who, being trained in all the sciences at Taxila "left that place with the intention of learning the practical uses of arts and local observances."²⁴⁶⁴ We read again of two sons of merchants and a tailor's son travelling together to learn the customs of the country folk after finishing their education at Taxila.²⁴⁶⁵ There is a reference to a student from Benares undertaking a travel after his education at Taxila.²⁴⁶⁶ There is a similar reference to the Pāṇḍu brothers, who after receiving instruction at Taxila in arts "travelled about with the idea of mastering local customs."²⁴⁶⁷ In the *Yoga Vāsīṣṭha*²⁴⁶⁸ we read that after his return from his guru, Rāma went on his travels to the places of pilgrimage, the holy rivers and the hermitages of sages and the places of resort famous for their beauty or interest. It may be noted in this connection that those who planned the system of visiting places of pilgrimage selected spots, not near each other, but as far apart as the confines of India, and with a vast variety of social conditions and environments and located them on high eminences or fast by running brooks, whose blue water cut a stretch of green grass or brown gravel. Thus the eye could gaze with relief on the expanse below or the scenery around, suggesting thoughts widening the mental horizon and reaching outward to the

²⁴⁶² Jātaka I. 238.

²⁴⁶⁴ Jātaka V. 247.

²⁴⁶⁶ Jātaka IV. 200.

²⁴⁶⁸ Tirtha paryāśramaśreṇiḥ draṣṭamutkaṇṭhitam manaḥ and Tirthāni devasadmāni vanyānyāyatanāṇa cha.—*Vairāgya Prakarapa*.

²⁴⁶³ Jātaka III. 235.

²⁴⁶⁵ Jātaka IV. 38.

²⁴⁶⁷ Jātaka V. 426.

infinite. The narrow conservatism and petty provincial prejudices attached to local and rural life, were confronted and corrected by commerce with the minds of men of piety and learning in the various regions of the Indian sub-continent.

§ 11. CLUBS AS AN AGENCY OF EDUCATION.

It is well known that there were in Ancient India institutions of various designations (*sabhā*, *saṃjā* or *saṃajja* and *goṣṭhi*) resembling very much the modern clubs.²⁴⁶⁹ They were also possible sources of popular enlightenment, for, we are told by Vātsyāyana that "there discussions on literature, music, dancing and other arts should take place."²⁴⁷⁰ Vātsyāyana further says: "A poor man having no other possession than his bare body.....and being well-skilled in in the *kalās* should lecture on these arts and make himself agreeable in a *goṣṭhi*."²⁴⁷¹ Vātsyāyana also advises the villagers to start such clubs for their own benefit²⁴⁷² and continues: "One engaged in addressing an audience in a *goṣṭhi* (i. e., club) should not solely speak in Sanskrit or in the vernacular. Both these languages should be adopted one now, then the other as the occasion may require. Then only he would be popular."²⁴⁷³

In *Harṣacharita*²⁴⁷⁴ we find a reference to a *Logic society*. Bāṇa returning among his relatives from Harṣa's court asks of them: "Is there the old logic society, regardless of all other occupations?". In his *Kādambarī* Bāṇa²⁴⁷⁵ speaks of king Śūdraka as "a founder of *literary societies*."

We know that King Pasenadi of Kośala had a picture-gallery (*chittāgāra*). A picture-gallery is also mentioned in Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*. From Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I, we find that King Agnimitra of Vidisā had his hall of painting.²⁴⁷⁶ Act I. of *Bhābhūti's*

²⁴⁶⁹ R. C. Mazumdar—Corporate Life in Ancient India, second edition, pp. 392-94.

²⁴⁷⁰ Kāmasūtra, Bk. I. Ch. IV. śl. 35.

²⁴⁷¹ Ibid., śl. 44.

²⁴⁷² Ibid., śl. 49.

²⁴⁷³ Ibid., śl. 50.

²⁴⁷⁴ Eng. Trans., by Cowell and Thomas, p. 71.

²⁴⁷⁵ C. M. Ridding's Eng. Trans., p. 4.

²⁴⁷⁶ Kale's Eng. Trans., p. 3.

Uttara-Rāma-charita²⁴⁷⁷ also refers to a picture-gallery in the corridor of Rāma's palace where by royal order scenes from king Rāma's career were painted and shown to Sītā. The Karpūramañjurī of Rājasekhara²⁴⁷⁸ also refers to picture-galleries. We also find a reference to a library and librarians (Saraswati-bhāṇḍārattār) in a Brahmin village called Vikrama-Pāṇḍya-chaturvedi-mangalam.²⁴⁷⁹ But we do not know whether or how far they were used as vehicles of education.

§ 12. THE PROFESSIONAL STORY-TELLERS ETC.

The Sūta, the Māgadha, the legendary bard, the Paurāṇikas,²⁴⁸⁰ the Bhāṭas²⁴⁸¹ of Bengal and Rājasthān, the Chūraṇas of Rājasthān²⁴⁸² and the professional story-tellers²⁴⁸³ were also great sources of popular instruction. The caste of Pāṇas²⁴⁸⁴ were also travelling minstrels who used to recite songs and lays of fighting and adventure before kings and nobles on festive and other occasions. Another agency of religious instruction was the Vairāgi²⁴⁸⁵ of whom Abu Zaid collected an account as early as 916 A. D. They were travelling poets and reciters of old lays, the repositories of ancient folk-lore and tradition and the custodians of the ballad literature of India.

In these arrangements for the spread of knowledge among the masses the aim was to bring to the door of the humblest, though illiterate, the highest products of the human mind and heart, rather than to enable him to read, write or cipher for himself. The

²⁴⁷⁷ Belvalkar's Eng. Trans., pp. 18-29.

²⁴⁷⁸ Konow and Lanman's edition, p. 242.

²⁴⁷⁹ Madras Ep. Rep. for 1913-14, No. 277 of 1913.

²⁴⁸⁰ Vāyu Purāṇa I. 31-32. Padma Purāṇa V. 1. 27-28; Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa VI. 6; Gārgi Samhitā, Golakakāṇḍa XII. 36; Rājatarāṅgi I. 166 (Stein, Vol. I, p. 29); Kautilya's Arthasāstra, R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., p. 476; also Ibid., p. 308.

²⁴⁸¹ Tod—Annals of Rājasthān.

²⁴⁸² Ibid.

²⁴⁸³ Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, Bk. I. Ch. V. 4. 38; Ibid., Bk. VI. Ch. I. ślo. 9 and 22. Kautilya's Arthasāstra, R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans., pp. 277, 308 and 476; Mahābhārata, Birāṭaparva, 72nd adhyāya; Kathāsaritsāgara, Penzer's edition, Vol. I. pp. 106, 120.

²⁴⁸⁴ Professor S. V. Venkateswara—Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I, p. 282.

²⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

recitation of sacred texts and popular feasts and displays like *ustava*, *vihāra*, *vimāna* and *agniskandha* are as old as Aśoka's inscriptions as agencies of culture; while in later times the system of symbolism, of folk-songs and dances, festive gatherings at temples, processions and popular lectures on temple platforms served to enlighten the masses and women at the circumference of culture and turn their thoughts to the larger ideas of country, humanity and religion. Indeed culture, not literacy, was the highest aim of education in Ancient India. As the Nālaḍiyār puts it, 'the uncultured may read, but are uneducated; men of culture unlettered are men well-read.'²⁴⁸⁶ It is true that there were similar institutions in ancient and mediæval times among peoples elsewhere, and that many of them partook likewise of a sacred character; but India stands almost alone in the emphasis on śruti, learning by the ear, even long after writing came into common use.

²⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 286.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDUCATION AND THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

From the Chāndogya²⁴⁸⁷ and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka²⁴⁸⁸ Upaniṣads we learn that the kings used to help learned Brahmins for the cultivation of knowledge even in those early times. In the Mahābhārata²⁴⁸⁹ Bhīṣma says to king Yudhiṣṭhir: "You should please those who are receiving education according to Vedic rules with gifts of dress etc., and by employing servants for the construction of houses for them." Yājñabalkya Samhitā²⁴⁹⁰ says: "Having made suitable houses in his city the king should make the brāhmaṇas settle there. And having granted them stipends for learning the three Vedas, he should say—'Follow your own vocation' ". Such settlements of the learned in parts of towns were known as Brahmapuri. There were seven such at Belgame, one of which had thirty-eight brāhmaṇa families cultivating linguistics and letters.²⁴⁹¹ Similarly the village of Niranthanin is styled brahmapuri in an inscription of Madhurāntaka Potappi Chola Nallamśittaraśa who restores a grant made by Vatsarāja.²⁴⁹² Kalhaṇa²⁴⁹³ refers to king Jaysimha of Kashmere as building houses for men of learning which "raise their terraces to such a height that the seven ṛṣiṣ (the great Bear) come to see them as they are towering above their heads."

Kautilya says: ²⁴⁹⁴ "brāhmaṇas shall be provided with forests for religious learning, such forests being rendered safe from the dangers from animate and inanimate objects and being named after the tribal names (gotra) of the brāhmaṇas resident therein ". Again "those learned in the Vedas shall be granted Brahmadēya lands yielding sufficient produce and exempted from taxes and fines".²⁴⁹⁵ Such a grant of land to

²⁴⁸⁷ 5. 11. 5.

²⁴⁸⁸ Anuśāsanaparva, 60th adhyāya.

²⁴⁸⁹ Ep. Carn. VII. (Sk.), 123.

²⁴⁹⁰ Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere,
Vol. II. p. 185.

²⁴⁹¹ Ibid., p. 52.

²⁴⁸⁸ 2. 1. 1; 3. 1. 1.

²⁴⁹⁰ II. 188.

²⁴⁹² Madras Ep. Rep. for 1919, No. 370
(Cudappa).

²⁴⁹⁴ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng.
Trans.), p. 55.

learned men was known as Bhattavṛtti referred to in many South Indian inscriptions.²⁴⁹⁶ The Omgadu grant of Vijaya Skandavarman refers to such a bhattavṛtti while Rājārāja I (Chola) made such grants free from taxes along with Vaidyavṛttis (grants to ancestral physicians). Such grants were made not only for study but also for teaching as we learn from an inscription of Govinda IV (Rāṣtrakūta).²⁴⁹⁷ An inscription of Aditya II (Chola) mentions to *ma* of land sold as bhattavṛtti for expounding the Prabhākaram at Kumbakonam.²⁴⁹⁸ A Nellore inscription clearly states that bhattavṛttimānyam was for work connected with culture.²⁴⁹⁹ Sometimes the donee is described Mahāmahopādhyāya, as in the case of Godhala Deva who was the exponent of the popular systems of Mimāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa, Tarka and Vedānta in the reign of Vigrahapāla of Bengal.²⁵⁰⁰

Endowments to learned brāhmaṇas took the form of agrahāra or village settlement. The agrahāra of Sthānā Kuṇḍūr (Tālaguṇḍa) was settled with thirty-two Brahmin families who taught the people.²⁵⁰¹ The Chicakole Plates of Devendravarman record the grant of a village as an agrahāra to six brāhmaṇas for supporting ascetic teachers and their pupils. The Stone inscription of Kūppatūr also refers to an agrahāra where the Mahājanas are learning, teaching, sacrificing, etc.²⁵⁰² Queen Sūryamatī of Kashmere similarly bestowed at the glorious temple of Vijayeśwara one hundred and eight agrahāras on learned Brahmins.²⁵⁰³ Paramārdin Chandel of Bundelkhund gave many villages to numerous learned Brahmins.²⁵⁰⁴ King Jayasimha of Kashmere made scholars and their descendants owners, as long as the planets, the Sun and the Moon should last, of villages possessing an abundance of unimpaired fields.²⁵⁰⁵ Karṇa, king of Chedi founded the town of Karṇavatī and gave it to

²⁴⁹⁶ Ep. Ind., XV. 250; S. I. Ins., I. p. 91. ²⁴⁹⁷ Ep. Ind., XIII. 327.

²⁴⁹⁸ S. I. Ins., III. No. 200; and No. 223 of 1911.

²⁴⁹⁹ Nellore No. 615.

²⁵⁰⁰ Ep. Ind., XV. 301.

²⁵⁰¹ Ep. Carn., VII. 178 (Sk).

²⁵⁰² Ep. Ind., III. pp. 130-34; Madras Ep. Rep. for 1913. No. 144 of Saka 1069; Ep. Carn., VIII. (SB), 249.

²⁵⁰³ Stein—The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. p. 282; compare Rājatar., VII. 181.

²⁵⁰⁴ Ep. Ind., IV. p. 170.

²⁵⁰⁵ Stein—The Chronicles Kashmere, Vol. II. p. 185.

Brahmins learned in the Vedas.²⁵⁰⁶ From Raghuvamśam²⁵⁰⁷ we learn that King Kuśa gave over the whole of Kuśavatī to Brahmins versed in the Vedas.

In some cases the king used to grant stipends and liberal allowances to students and learned men. In the Mahābhārata²⁵⁰⁸ Viṣma says to King Yūdhishthīr: "It is highly obligatory (on you) to grant stipends to Brahmins who are well-versed in the śāstras and follow the Vedānta (Vedānta-niṣṭha)." "All kinds of teachers and learned men" says Kautilya²⁵⁰⁹ "shall have honorariums ranging from 500 to 1000 paṇas according to their merit". According to Manu²⁵¹⁰ the king shall always provide for a śrotriya. "Informed of his Vedic knowledge and holy rituals, the king" says he "shall provide for his proper means of subsistence; and like a son of his own loins, he shall protect him (śrotriya) from thieves etc."²⁵¹¹ Again "Let the king make gifts of all kinds of gems as well as of fees for religious sacrifices to these brahmins and to those who are well-versed in the Vedas".²⁵¹² According to Kāmandaka²⁵¹³ the king should give money to learned Brahmins. According to Śukrāchārya "pundits, females and creepers do not flourish without resting grounds."²⁵¹⁴ Again, the king should have three characters—that of the Autumn Moon to the learned, that of the Summer Sun to the enemies and that of the Spring Sun to his subjects.²⁵¹⁵ Indeed Śukrāchārya while mentioning the ordinary political and administrative functions of the State does not forget the educational activities of what has been called the *Cultur Staat*. Says he: "The king should always take such steps as may advance the arts and sciences of the country".²⁵¹⁶ "He should train up the officers appointed with salaries (bhūtiposītām) in the cultivation of all the arts and having seen that they have finished their studies, should appoint them in their

²⁵⁰⁶ Ep. Ind., II. p. 3.

²⁵⁰⁷ Canto XVI. 25.

²⁵⁰⁸ Anuśāsanaparba, 69th adhyāya.

²⁵⁰⁹ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 308.

²⁵¹⁰ VIII. 395.

²⁵¹¹ Manu VI. 135.

²⁵¹² Ibid., XI. 4.

²⁵¹³ Nītisāra, 1st sarga, śloka 18.

²⁵¹⁴ Śakraniti (Eng. Trans., by Prof. Benoy K. Sarkar), Ch. I. line 767.

²⁵¹⁵ Ibid., Ch. II. lines 566-67.

²⁵¹⁶ Ibid., Ch. I. line 741.

special fields. He should also honour those every year who are very high in arts and sciences."²⁵¹⁷ These lines imply that the king should maintain students with scholarships for the study of the various branches of learning and when they have been sufficiently educated, should appoint them to their proper posts in Government service. Śukrāchārya further says: "Those who are proficient in revealed literature (Vedas) and the smṛtis, those who are well-versed in the Purāṇas, those who know the śāstras (other than the śrutis, smṛtis and the Purāṇas), the astrologers, those who are masters of medical science, those who are versed in religious rites and ceremonies..... these classes of men the king should worship and maintain by stipends (bhūtyā), gifts (dāna) and honour (māna). Otherwise the king is disparaged and earns an ill-name."²⁵¹⁸ These lines thus suggest a sort of literary pensions granted to qualified men to enable them to devote their whole time and energy to the pursuit of their special investigations. In the Jātakas we accordingly find a class of students who paid the teacher's fee from the scholarships awarded to them by the states to which they belonged.²⁵¹⁹ Generally such students were sent as companions of the princes of their respective countries who were deputed to Taxila for education. We read of the sons of royal chaplains of the courts of Benares and Rājgaha accompanying their respective princes to Taxila for their education.²⁵²⁰ Cases, however, are not wanting of students being sent on their own account for higher studies to Taxila at the expense of the state. Thus we read of a Brahmin boy of Benares being sent by his king at *royal* expense to Taxila for the purpose of specialising in the science of archery.²⁵²¹

Sometimes the king helped the students in giving dakṣiṇā to their teachers on the completion of their studies. On one occasion²⁵²² the conventional sum of fourteen crores of rupees is said to have been paid by Kautsa to Varatantu in return for the fourteen lores he had learnt. In this story the teacher first asked for nothing and gave the

²⁵¹⁷ Ibid., Ch. I. lines 737-40.

²⁵¹⁹ Jātaka V. 263.

²⁵²¹ Jātaka V. 127.

²⁵¹⁸ Ibid., Ch. II. lines 247-51.

²⁵²⁰ Jātaka III. 238 and V. 247.

²⁵²² Raghuvamśam, Canto V. śloka 1-35.

pupil permission to go home saying that he was pleased with his devotion; but the latter pressed him rather in an unmannerly tone to ask for something and hence angrily the teacher asked him to produce that enormous sum. But how could the poor Brahmin pupil get it? It is described that he got it from king Raghu. In the *Mahābhārata*²⁵²³ we are told how Utanka, pupil of Veda paid his guru-dakṣiṇā by begging the earring of the queen of the king.

The king we are told even at the point of death must not take any revenue from a learned (śrotriya) brāhmaṇa; nor must he suffer a śrotriya, living in his territory to be oppressed with hunger.²⁵²⁴ The kingdom of a king wherein a śrotriya is oppressed with hunger, is soon consumed by that hunger.²⁵²⁵ Kautilya²⁵²⁶ says: "He (the king) shall avoid the property of Brahmins learned in the Vedas. He may purchase this too, by offering price to the owners." Again "learned men, orators, charitable and brave persons should be favoured (by the king) with gifts of land and money and with remission of taxes."²⁵²⁷ The reasons for this exemption from taxation are thus given: "The religious rites which a śrotriya, protected by the king, performs every day, tend to increase the longevity, riches and territories of the king."²⁵²⁸ Moreover, "whatever Vedic studies do his subjects do.....through his properly protecting them, he enjoyeth a sixth part of the merit thereof."²⁵²⁹ "It is said" says Vasiṣṭha²⁵³⁰ "that the brāhmaṇa first made the Veda known. The brāhmaṇa saves one from misfortune. Therefore a brāhmaṇa shall not be made to pay taxes." In *Avijñāna-śakuntalam*²⁵³¹ king Duṣmanta says that he receives from the brāhmaṇas a sixth of their penance as tax. In *Raghuvamśam*²⁵³² king Atithi is similarly said to receive one-sixth of the religious merit as tax from the hermit-teachers living in his kingdom. The meaning is that the hermit-teachers had

²⁵²³ *Ādiparva*, 3rd adhyāya, Poutyaparbādhyāya.

²⁵²⁴ *Manu* VII. 133.

²⁵²⁵ *Manu* VII. 134.

²⁵²⁶ *Arthaśāstra* (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 302.

²⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

²⁵²⁸ *Manu* VII. 136.

²⁵²⁹ *Manu* VIII. 305.

²⁵³⁰ *Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā*, Ch. I.

²⁵³¹ *Act* V. 14; *Act* II. 13 and 14.

²⁵³² *Canto* XVII, 65.

to pay no tax while they kept themselves engaged in educational duties.

A graphic description of *royal solicitude for the welfare of the hermit-teachers and their seats of learning* is preserved in the *Raghuvamśam*.²⁵³³ When Kautsa after finishing his education at Varatantu's hermitage approached Raghu for money to pay his preceptor, Raghu addressed Kautsa as follows :—

"Oh thou keen-witted one ! is thy preceptor—who is the first among sages, proficient in adapting the hymns, from whom all knowledge has been acquired by thee just as all activity is gained by the world from the Sun—all hale.

"I hope the three-fold penance of the great sage which has long been boarded up (by him) by the exercise of his body, his speech as well as by his mind and which disturbs the firmness of Indra, does not suffer waste by any kind of impediment.

"I hope there is no calamity such as a hurricane etc., in regard to the trees of the hermitage which are the beguilers of your fatigue and which have been reared up just like your children with all kinds of efforts headed by the construction of basins.

"I hope the young ones of the deer are alright—those young ones whose wish to browse the kuśa grass was not interrupted through fondness although it was a requisite for ceremonies and whose umbilical cords dropped down on the laps of the sages.

"I hope the waters of your landing-place are in favourable condition—those waters in which your prescribed ablutions are performed, from which handfuls of funeral offerings are given to the manes of your ancestors and whose sandy banks are marked with the sixth part of the gleaned corn.

"I hope the crops of nibāra and other corns which are the sylvan means of the sustenance of your corporeal frames and from which portions are allotted to the guests coming at times are not attacked by domestic cattle whose natural food is husk and straw.

"Have you been permitted by the great sage, after his having thoroughly educated you and being himself satisfied, to adopt the life of a householder? For, it is now time for you to enter on the second stage of life which is capable of benefitting all.

"My mind is not satisfied with the arrival of a respectable personage like thee; it is eager to be engaged in some task assigned (by thee). Is it at the desire of thy preceptor or through thy personal wish that thou hast come from the forest to do me honour?"²⁵³⁴

In the Mahābhārata we are told: "It is the bounden duty of kings to respect (literally worship) śrotriya brāhmaṇas".²⁵³⁵ "If a Veda-vid snātaka brāhmaṇa without employment resorts to the profession of a thief, the king should maintain him after suggesting some occupation to him".²⁵³⁶ "If a brāhmaṇa desires to leave a kingdom where he cannot get a living, the king should grant a *stipend* for the brāhmaṇa and his wife. If the brāhmaṇa still persists in leaving the kingdom, the king should approach him and say: '*Sir, if you leave my kingdom, with whose support shall my subjects live?*'"²⁵³⁷ In the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata²⁵³⁸ we are told how a teacher Śukra by name, angry at the insult offered to his daughter Devayoni by Śarmiṣṭhā, the daughter of king Br̥ṣaparbā, threatened to leave the latter's kingdom whereupon the king appeased the wrath of the teacher by agreeing to ask his own daughter Śarmiṣṭhā to act as a maid-servant to the teacher's daughter Devayoni. The respect paid to learned Brahmins and to hermit-teachers in particular is illustrated in Daśaratha's visit to the hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha,²⁵³⁹ Bharata's visit to that of Varadwāja,²⁵⁴⁰ Śatrughna's visit to that of Vālmiki,²⁵⁴¹ Duṣmanta's visit to that of Kaṇva,²⁵⁴² Rāma's visit to that of Vālmiki²⁵⁴³ and Puṣpabhūti's visit to that of Vairava.²⁵⁴⁴

²⁵³⁴ Raghuvamśam, Canto V. 4-11.

²⁵³⁵ Śāntiparva, 76th adhyāya.

²⁵³⁶ 78th, 79th and 80th adhyāyas.

²⁵⁴⁰ Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 90th sarga.

²⁵⁴² Avijñāna-śakuntalam, Act I.

²⁵⁴⁴ Harṣacharita, III.

²⁵³⁸ Anuśāsanaparva, 33rd adhyāya.

²⁵³⁷ Śāntiparva, 89th adhyāya.

²⁵³⁹ Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, 51st sarga.

²⁵⁴¹ Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, 63th sarga.

²⁵⁴³ Uttara-Rāma-charita.

That only *learned* men were to be patronised by the State is clearly laid down. Thus we are told that "the king should punish with life, the village which harbours thieves by giving alms to the twice-born who do not perform religious rites and study the Vedas. The kingdom where the ignorant partake of the food which should be taken by the learned, courts drought or a great calamity appears there. There the god of rain pours down showers where the king adores these—the brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas and well-versed in the scriptures".²⁵⁴⁵ Vasiṣṭha Samhitā²⁵⁴⁶ speaks in the same strain: "The king shall punish the village where brāhmaṇas failing to observe their sacred duties and study the Veda, live by begging, for, it feeds the thieves". In the Mahābhārata²⁵⁴⁷ Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhir that the king should take taxes from those brāhmaṇas who are not śrotriyaś and employ them without pay.

Royal patronage of learning in India is as old as the Ṛgveda. Numberless hymns of the Ṛgveda show the grateful dānastutis of ṛṣis in praise of their patrons. The Ikṣākus of Kośala, the Janakas of Videha and the kings of Benares were renowned patrons of learning. Indeed the patronage of learning by Janaka was on such a scale that it made his contemporary Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī acknowledge in disappointment that he could hardly find any available learned man in the country, whom he could patronise, for all the learned men were running to the court of Janaka and settling there.²⁵⁴⁸ His only enjoyment was not the pleasures of the usual royal hunt or chase but the company of the learned as the Emperor Aśoka in later times replaced the royal pleasure-tours by religious tours and pilgrimages. Indeed in the age of the Upaniṣads the Aristocracies of Brain and Bullion lived in happy harmony and mutual esteem. Brahmins, proud of their intellectual lineage and attainments were not slow to receive instruction wherever they found. At the same time a large part in the intellectual life of the country was played by kings who threw themselves into it with an enthusiasm that testifies to their genuine

²⁵⁴⁵ Atri Samhitā, Ch. I. ślo. 22-24.

²⁵⁴⁷ Śāntiparva, 70th adhyāya.

²⁵⁴⁶ Ch. III.

²⁵⁴⁸ Bṛhad. Up., II. 1. 1.

democratic feeling, their sense of universal brotherhood in the Kingdom of Spirit, of which all were entitled to be free citizens. Some of the kings were themselves leaders of thought and drew even brāhmaṇa students for instruction in the special truths of which they were the repositories. Such were Janaka of Videha, Ajātaśatru of Kāśi, Pravahana Jaibali of the Pāñchāla country and Aśwapati Kaikeya. In the Mahābhārata²⁵⁴⁹ Arjuna told King Birāta that Yudhiṣṭhir used to maintain 88,000 snātakas. In the Banaparba²⁵⁵⁰ Draupadi says to Satyabhāmā: "88,000 snātaka householders were daily maintained. Dainty golden (?) dishes were daily kept ready for another batch of 10,000 snātakas. I used to receive them all by offering food, drink and clothing". From the Jātakas we have already seen that state scholarships were awarded to some students for studies abroad.

Aśoka furthered the cause of education by establishing innumerable monasteries and nunneries throughout his Empire. He built 500 monasteries in Kashmere alone, of which 100 were seen by Hien Tsang²⁵⁵¹ and 300 by Ou-kong.²⁵⁵² Even in far off Nepal he founded such institutions specially in the city of Deo-pātan built by him after his son-in-law Devapāla who with his daughter Chārumatī chose to settle there.²⁵⁵³ The existence of these institutions must be greatly responsible for the considerable extent of literacy in the country where the masses could read the edicts of Aśoka written in their own dialects and scripts. Menander the Great was an ardent patron of Buddhist learning. From the Milindā-Paṇḥa²⁵⁵⁴ we learn that the state encouraged very liberally the craftsmen who introduced highly trained apprentices to the king. The name of Kaṇiṣka is associated with three eminent Buddhist writers viz., Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghoṣa and Vasumitra. Charaka, the most celebrated author of the Indian system of medicine is reputed to have been the court-physician of Kaṇiṣka. His son Huviṣka also established a monastery at Mathurā. Hāla, the 17th Andhra king was

²⁵⁴⁹ Birātaparba, 70th adhyāya.

²⁵⁵⁰ 231st adhyāya.

²⁵⁵¹ Beal—Life of Hien Tsang, p. 61.

²⁵⁵² Levi and Chavannes—L' Itinéraire d' Oukong, Journal Asiatique, 1893, VI. pp. 341 *sqq.*

²⁵⁵³ Percival Landon—Nepal, Vol. I.

²⁵⁵⁴ VI. 9 and 10.

a patron of Prākṛt literature. Himself a learned man, Samudragupta was fond of the company of learned men and his name is famous as the patron of Vasubandhu the celebrated Buddhist scholar and Harisena the poet-laureate. Chandrapupta II Vikramāditya is probably the original of Rājā Vikrama of Ujjain, famous in Indian legends as the king whose court was adorned by the "nine gems" headed by Kālidāsa. Āryabhaṭṭa the mathematician, Varāhamihir, the astronomer and Brahmagupta—all received their due encouragement at the hands of Gupta emperors.

Harṣa was one of the best patrons of men of letters. As Bāṇa²⁵⁵⁵ puts it, 'his learning at once suggests helping the learned'. He used to call forth poetical compositions by the literary men of his court who at one time presented their sovereign with the Jātakas collected into the work called Jātaka-mālā. Among examples of his patronage we know of Bāṇa. Another literary protege of Harṣa was Haridatta who is mentioned in an inscription²⁵⁵⁶ as raised to eminence by Harṣa. Hīnen Tsang was also treated by Harṣa "with almost royal honours" "Śīlāditya-rāja reverencing him more than ever bestowed on the Master of the Law 10,000 pieces of gold, 30,000 pieces of silver, 100 garments of superior cotton, whilst the princes of the eighteen kingdoms each presented him with rare jewels. But all these the Master of the Law declined to accept. The king then ordered his attendant ministers to place a howdah upon a great elephant, with the request that the Master of the Law would mount thereon, whilst he directed the great ministers of the state to accompany him".²⁵⁵⁷ To Jaysena 'who had become the admiration of the age by the range of his knowledge including subjects like Hetuvidyā, Śabdavidyā, Yogaśāstra, the four Vedas, Astronomy, Geography, Medicine, Magic and Arithmetic', Harṣa made the offer of the revenue of eighty large towns in Orissa which, however, the scholar refused to accept.²⁵⁵⁸ We may well recall in this connection the established maxim of Harṣa's policy that a fourth of the revenue from the crown lands should be spent on rewarding high intellectual eminence and another fourth on gifts to the various sects.²⁵⁵⁹

²⁵⁵⁵ Harṣacharita—Cowell and Thomas, p. 62.

²⁵⁵⁶ Ep. Ind., I. 180.

²⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 153-54.

²⁵⁵⁸ Beal—Life of Hīnen Tsang, p. 180.

²⁵⁵⁹ Watters—Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 176.

The example of Harṣa Śīlāditya was not without its influence on some of his subordinate kings. Kumāra, king of Assam showed a commendable anxiety to profit by the learned company of Hiuen Tsang.²⁵⁶⁰ At the time of parting with the Chinese pilgrim Kumāra-rāja addressed Hiuen Tsang thus: "If the master is able to dwell in my dominion and receive my religious offerings, I will undertake to found one hundred monasteries on the Master's behalf".²⁵⁶¹ When the pilgrim took his leave "the king with a large body of attendants accompanied him for several ten *lis* and then returned. On their final separation none of them could restrain their tears and sad lamentations".²⁵⁶² "Three days after the separation the king (Śīlāditya) in company with Kumāra-rāja and Dhruvadatta-rāja (of Valabhi).....again came to accompany him for a time and to take final leave. Then he commissioned official guides to accompany the pilgrim and the escort of Udhita-rāja already attached to him with letters to the end that the princes of the countries through which the pilgrim passed might provide modes of conveyance".²⁵⁶³ Thus the kings of Jalandhara, Kashmere and Kapisa honoured the pilgrim and arranged for his comforts.²⁵⁶⁴ The king of Kashmere himself went to the river-side to pay his respects and escort him. He then sent the heir-apparent to the throne in advance to direct the people of the capital and the body of priests to prepare flags and banners and with them to march from the city to escort.²⁵⁶⁵ A little before Harṣa, "Purnavarmarāja, lord of Magadha, had great respect for learned men, and honoured those distinguished as sages: Learning this man's renown (Jayasena of encyclopædic knowledge) he was much pleased and sent messengers to invite him to come to his court and nominated him "Kwo-sse" (Master of the kingdom) and assigned for his support the revenue of twenty large towns. But the Master of S'āstras (Jayasena) declined to receive them".²⁵⁶⁶

The Chandel king of Bundelkhund Kirtivarman by name was the patron of Kṛṣṇamiśra whose allegorical play, the "Prabodha-chandrodaya"

**** Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 170-71.

**** Ibid., p. 189.

**** Ibid., pp. 190-93.

**** Ibid., pp. 192-93.

**** Ibid., pp. 187-88.

**** Ibid., pp. 189-90.

**** Ibid., pp. 153-54.

was staged at his court under his patronage. The Pāla rulers similarly patronised men of learning like Atisa and Biradeva. The first Pāla king Gopāla founded the monastic University of Odantipura.²⁵⁶⁷ Another Pāla ruler Dharmapāla founded the famous monastic University of Vikramaśilā which included several colleges.²⁵⁶⁸ Another Pāla king Rāmapāla was the patron of Sandhyākara Nandī, the author of Rāma-charita. The Chauhan prince Prithwirāja was the patron of Chānd Bardāi, the author of the great epic 'Chānd Raiśā'. The Chalukya ruler of Kalyani Vikramāñaka was the patron of the famous poet Bilhaṇa and the celebrated jurist Vijñāneśwara, author of the Mitākṣarā, the leading authority on Hindu law outside Bengal. King Yaśovarman of Kanauj was the patron of Bhababhūti, the sweet nightingale of Sanskrit literature and of Vākpati, the author of a Prakrit poem of unusual merit, called Gauḍavaho or the 'Slaying of the king of Gauḍa'. About Jayāpīḍa's patronage of learning we read in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī:²⁵⁶⁹ "By him learning which had hidden itself far away, was made to appear (again) in this land which was the original home, just as the Vitastā by Kāśyapa..... The king by bringing from abroad (competent) expositors, restored in his own country the (study of Mahāvāṣya), which had been interrupted..... The pureminded (king) did not allow any king to compete with him but was proud of being able himself to compete with the learned..... As the king was attached to the learned, the princes who came to serve him and desired to reach his presence, frequented the houses of the scholars. The king searched for and collected all scholars to such an extent that in the lands of other kings there was a dearth of learned men. He attached to himself and elevated on account of his learning, Thakkiya..... The learned Bhaṭṭa Udbhata was this king's sabhāpati... .. He took the poet Dāmodaragupta, the author of the (poem) Kuttinimata, as his chief councillor as Bali (had taken) Kavi. Manoratha, Śaṅkhadanta, Cataka and Saṃdhimat were his poets and Vāmana and others his

²⁵⁶⁷ V. A. Smith—Early History of India, third edition, p. 397.

²⁵⁶⁸ S. C. Das in the J. B. T. S., Part I. p. 11.

²⁵⁶⁹ IV. 486-97; Stein, The Chronicles of Kashmere, Vol. I. pp. 165-66.

ministers." In the reign of Avantivarman (of Kashmere) "the minister Sūra by honouring learned men, with a seat in the (king's) sabhā, caused learning whose flow had been interrupted, to descend (again) upon this land. The scholars who were granted great fortunes and high honours, proceeded to the sabhā in vehicles (litters) worthy of kings. Muktakarṇa, Śivaswāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana (author of the *Dhvanyāloka*, a rhetorical treatise and the poem *Deviśataka*) and Ratnākara (author of the great *kāvya* called *Harivijaya*) obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman. In the assembly-hall of the minister Sūra, the bard Kṛtamandāra recited always the following Ārya (verse) in order to remind (his master) of his resolve: This is the time for granting benefits, while fortune, fickle by nature, is present. Why should there be again time for benefits, while misfortune is always imminent?"²⁵⁷⁰ "He (King Kalasa) and King Bhoja, both (themselves) learned and friends of poets were at that time equally renowned for their liberality."²⁵⁷¹ "The king (Harṣa of Kashmere) who was the crest jewel of the learned, adorned men of learning with jewels and bestowed upon them the privileges of using litters, horses, parasols etc."²⁵⁷² Harṣa was the patron of Kanaka, the learned musician who was Kalhaṇa's own uncle.²⁵⁷³ Kalhaṇa's graphic description of king Jayasimha's patronage of learning is preserved in the following verses: "In the black darkness of ignorance, learning had shown forth at intervals, in passing lightning flashes of fortune (coming) from such clouds as Jayāpiḍa and other (royal patrons). He, however, has given permanent brilliancy to the picture of his virtue which is of wondrous variety, by bestowing wealth which last like the radiant light of a jewel. He had made scholars and their descendants owners as long as the planets, the Sun and the Moon should last, of villages possessing an abundance of unimpaired fields. The houses he has constructed for men of learning, raise their terraces to such a height that the seven ṛṣis (the great Bear) come to see them as they are towering above their heads. Safe is the journey for scholars who

²⁵⁷⁰ Rājatar., V. 35-36; Stein, I. pp. 189-90. ²⁵⁷¹ Rājatar., VII. 259; Stein, I. p. 290.

²⁵⁷² Rājatar., VII. 934; Stein, I. p. 340. Compare VII. 944, 948.

²⁵⁷³ Rājatar., VII. 1117-18; Stein, I. p. 354.

follow him as their caravan-leader on the path on which his intuition guides, and which has been found by his knowledge. Just as Āryarāja, while lying on his bed, had chiefly found delight in (listening to) the sound arising from the flow of the water with which the Lingas were being washed, so he when about to go to sleep, dispenses with flutes, lutes and other (music) and finds his pleasure in reflecting over the talk of guileless men of learning".²⁵⁷⁴ Bilhaṇa was made by Paramāḍi, the lord of Kaṇṇāta, his chief paṇḍita and when he used to travel on elephants through the hill country of Kaṇṇāta his parasol was borne aloft before the king. But when he heard that the liberal Haṛṣa (of Kashmere) was like a kinsman to true poets, Bilhaṇa thought even so great a splendour a deception.²⁵⁷⁵ Kṣitirāja, lord of Lohara is praised by Bilhaṇa as a distinguished patron of poets equal in fame to Bhoja.²⁵⁷⁶ King Muñja Paramāra of Dhar was a liberal patron of Sanskrit poets such as Padmagupta, Dhanika, Halāyudha and Dhanapāla. When Muñja died poets were in despair for the goddess of Saraswati though not for Lakṣmī or Indrāṇī. The goddess of wealth and valour might find their favourites but the goddess of learning was now, they thought, without support.²⁵⁷⁷ But Bhoja of Dhar falsified their misgivings. He built a college for Sanskrit studies at Dhar and patronised learned men like Rājasekhara, the author of Karpūramañjuri and other plays whom he appointed as tutor to his son (Mahendrapāla). Dhanapāla another poet is properly associated with Bhoja and Ūvata, a native of Badnagar, wrote his commentary on Vājsenīya Saṃhitā at Ujjain during Bhoja's rule.²⁵⁷⁸ The inscription edited at p. 209 Ep. Ind., I. tells us that "there was no trace of any quarrel under his rule for, he brought about friendship even between the goddess of learning and the goddess of wealth."²⁵⁷⁹ King Jayasīṃha Chalukya of

²⁵⁷⁴ Rājatar., VIII. 2393-99 ; Stein, II. p. 185.

²⁵⁷⁵ Rājatar., VII. 949 ; Stein, I. pp. 340-41.

²⁵⁷⁶ Bahler—Vikramāṅkacharita, XVIII. 47-50.

²⁵⁷⁷ Lakṣmīyāśrayati govinde biraśrībīrabesmani
Gate muñje yaśaspuñje nirālambā saraswatī.

²⁵⁷⁸ Col. Luard and Lele—The Paramāras of Dhar and Malwa, p. 21.

²⁵⁷⁹ Paraṣparabīrodhasya tasya rājye kathaiba kā
Sargataṣ śrisaraswatyorapi yena prabarttitam.

Anhilwad also patronised Jain and Hindu pundits, the greatest of whom was Hemachandra, the author of the famous Sanskrit grammar Siddha Hema and of the poem Dvyāśraya. Govindachandra of Kanauj made Lakṣmidhara, the author of Vyāvahāra-kalpataru (a treatise on law and procedure) his minister for war and peace. Jayachandra of Kanauj patronised Śrī Harṣa, the author of the epic poem Naiṣadha. Arjunavarman of Dhar patronised Madana, a dramatist and a commentator on Amaraśataka and on the works of Bhoja. Viśāladeva of Ajmere patronised Somadeva, the author of the drama Lalitavigraharāja. Lakṣmaṇasena like his father Ballālāsena of Bengal was a great patron of learned men among whom Halāyudha, Umāpatīdhara, Śaraṇa Govardhanāchārya, Dhoyī, Jayadeva (author of Gītagovindam) and Śrīdharadāsa were the most famous. Regarding Ānandapāla, son of Jaipāla, anecdotes are preserved showing his patronage of grammatical learning.²⁵⁸⁰ The Chola ruler Rājārāja of Tanjore was a great patron of music and dancing. He built many colleges and appointed learned teachers in them who taught literature and śāstra to the students.²⁵⁸¹ Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla of Devagiri made Lakṣmidhara, the son of the famous astronomer Vāṣkarāchārya his sabbā-panḍita. Pratāparudra (1316 A. D.) Kakātiya of Warangal was a famous patron of poets, in whose reign Pratāparudriya, a well-known work on poetics was written by Vaidyanātha.

There are numerous evidences to show that the kings richly endowed the seats of learning. We are told by Hiuen Tsang how "six kings in connected succession" viz., Śakrāditya, Buddhagupta, Tathāgatarāja, Bālāditya and Vajra of Magadha and a king of Central India added to the structures of the monastic University of Nālandā.²⁵⁸² At the time of Hiuen Tsang "the king of the country respects and honours the priests and has remitted the revenues of about one hundred villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred householders in these villages, day by day, contribute several hundred *piculs*²⁵⁸³ of ordinary

²⁵⁸⁰ Alberuni's India—Sachau's Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p. 135 ; Vol. II. pp. 13-14.

²⁵⁸¹ Aiyar—Historical Sketch of the Ancient Deccan, p. 251.

²⁵⁸² Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 110-11.

²⁵⁸³ 1 picul = 133½ lbs.

rice and several hundred *catties*²⁵⁸⁴ in weight of butter and milk.²⁵⁸⁵ Harṣa Śīlāditya-rāja also constructed a vihāra covered with brass plates by the side of this Nālandā monastery, about a 100 feet in height.²⁵⁸⁶ According to I-Tsing the lands in possession of this monastery contain more than two hundred villages thus showing that from the time of the visit of Hiuen Tsang the revenue of another one hundred villages was placed at the disposal of the monastery. These villages as attested by the pilgrim were bestowed by kings of many generations.²⁵⁸⁷ Inscriptional evidences support this assertion of Chinese pilgrim. For, Mr. Hirānanda S'āstrī who was for some time in charge of the Nālandā excavations has discovered an inscription which records the grant by king Devapāla of certain villages in the Rājagṛha and Gayā districts of S'rinagara, identified with the Patna Division, for the up-keep of the Nālandā monastery, for the comfort the viṣṇus coming there from the four quarters, for medical aid, for the writing of Dharmaratnas (i. e., religious books) and for similar purposes. An undated inscription has been found at Benares which Dr. Vogel thinks to be of the eighth or ninth century in which there is a reference to a pious gift to Nālandā.²⁵⁸⁸

Similarly the monastic University of Vikramaśīlā was furnished by its *royal* founder Dharmapāla with four establishments each consisting of twenty-seven monks belonging to the four principal sects of Buddhism. He also endowed it with rich grants, fixing regular allowances for the maintenance of the priests and the students.²⁵⁸⁹ In the tenth century a *satra* (free-board hostel) was added to it by one of the sons of King Sanātana of Varendra, better known by his name of Jetāri.

As regards the management of these endowments to the monasteries I-Tsing observes: "As cultivation by the priests themselves is prohibited by the great sage they suffer their tillable lands to be

2584 1 *catty* = 160 lbs.

2585 Ibid., p. 158-59.

2586 Arch. Surv. Rep., 1903-04, p. 219 ;

2587 S. C. Das in the J. B. T. S., Part I. pp. 1-10,

2588 Beal—Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. 112-13.

2589 Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 65.

cultivated by others freely and partake only a portion of the products. Thus they live their just life, avoiding worldly affairs and free from the faults of destroying lives by ploughing and watering fields."²⁵⁹⁰ "The produce of the farms and gardens and the profits arising from trees and fruits are distributed annually in shares to cover the cost of clothing..... Is it reasonable that he who gives food should wish the recipient to live without clothing?..... Thus the Church can make use of the benefaction as it likes, without any fault, as long as it carries out the original intention of the giver. But in China an individual generally cannot get clothing from the Church-property and is thus obliged to provide for this necessity, thereby neglecting his proper function."²⁵⁹¹ "The secular students, however, who had no intention of joining the order "must not be fed from the permanent property of the Saṃgha, for, this is prohibited in the teaching of the Buddha; but if they have done some laborious work for the Saṃgha, they are to be fed by the monastery according to their merit. Food made for ordinary purposes presented by the giver, to be used by the students can be given to them without wrong-doing."²⁵⁹²

Similar endowments were also made by many south Indian kings. Thus, Kulottunga Chola III made the gift of a village and some gold ornaments to the god Vyākaraṇa-dāna Perumal to whom was attached the famous Grammar school of Pāṇini.²⁵⁹³ In the Jagannātha-maṇḍapa by the royal grant of Virājendradeva (1062 A. D.) were established (1) a school for the study of the Vedas, Śāstras, Grammar, etc., (2) a hostel for students and (3) a hospital.²⁵⁹⁴ A Chālukyan queen also made an endowment to the 140 mahājānas of a village belonging to her for the maintenance of the commentator on the śāstras, the reader of the Purāṇas and the teacher of the Rg-veda and the Yajurveda to students.²⁵⁹⁵ The Kakātiya kings also patronised the Pāsupata teachers as also the celebrated scholar Viśeṣwara-sivāchārya

²⁵⁹⁰ Takakusu's I-Tsing, p. 62.

²⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p. 106.

²⁵⁹² No. 182 of 1915, Madras Ep. Report.

²⁵⁹³ Ibid., pp. 193-94.

²⁵⁹⁴ No. 120 of 1912, Madras Ep. Report.

²⁵⁹⁵ No. 518 of 1915, Madras Ep. Report.

of the Gauḍa country who used one of the many royal gifts bestowed on him to found at Mandaran (the present Mandadam) institutions like maṭhas and schools of students of Śaiva Puritans with a staff of eight professors, three for teaching the three Vedas and five for Logic, Literature and the Āgamas.²⁵⁹⁶

Examples of these royal benefactions help to modify the impression that religious charities in India have always flowed in one particular channel and assumed one stereotyped form, viz., the direct furtherance of the worship of the gods, the propagation of the doctrine. The type of endowments we have just considered shows conclusively how the religious sense of the people in those ancient times was quite sound and even 'modern' in its tendencies by endowing not simply the temples of the gods but also the hardly less sacred temples of learning.

That the state in those ancient days made some *provision for the care and education of orphans* will be evident from the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya²⁵⁹⁷ who says: "Those orphans (asambandhinah) who are to be necessarily fed by the state and are put to *study* science, palmistry (angavidyā), sorcery (māyā gata), the duties of the various orders of religious life, legardemain (jamvakavidyā) and the reading of omens and augury (antarachakra) are class-mate spies or spies learning by social intercourse (Saṃsargavidyāsatrinaḥ)." It is interesting to find that in the Moslem period some of the (Muhammadan) rulers of the Bahamani kingdom made provision for the education of orphans, allocating funds for their support and for the learned men engaged to teach them.

The state in Ancient India seems to have made some provision for the training of spies. For, Kautilya refers to spies who are "*well-trained* in the art of putting on disguises appropriate to countries

²⁵⁹⁶ Madras Ep. Report, 1917, p. 122. Similarly Inscription Sk. 153 records Jayasimha's grant for the feeding and clothing of students in the local Siddheśwara temple.

Another Inscription Sk. 94 records a grant for feeding pupils there.

²⁵⁹⁷ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans.), p. 22.

and trades"²⁵⁹⁸ and "*taught* various languages,"²⁵⁹⁹ "arts,"²⁶⁰⁰ "the use of signals and cipher-writing (*gūḍha-lekhyā*)"²⁶⁰¹

The above survey certainly brings out in a very favourable light the interest in and care for the education of the people evinced by the Ancient Indian rulers. Some of them even attended the Convocation of some of the monastic Universities (S. C. Das—*Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 59-60) and conferred the diplomas on their distinguished alumni as at Vikramaśilā. (S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa—*History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 79, 151 and Appendix C.) Some of them according to Rājasekhara (*Kābyamīmāṃsā*, pp. 54-55) used to hold assemblies for the examination of the works of poets and to reward those whose works stood the test. (Compare for S. India, the *Maṇimekhalai*, Books 1 and 27, Quoted in *Indian Culture Through the Ages*, Vol. I. p. 218 foot-note). There was, however, no education department, no inspector of schools and colleges. None of the rulers even framed like Akbar regulations for the guidance of schools and colleges as mentioned in the *Āin-i-Ākbari*.²⁶⁰² But one good result emerged out of this: the educational institutions enjoyed autonomy and freedom. The rulers assigned to the educational institutions the material means for their support, gifts of land, grants of money for buildings and for the necessary equipment but did not offer strait-jackets to confine them. In the modern system, Education is under the control of a government department, the Legislature makes laws for it, the executive appoints its Directors, who are really its masters, sends the Inspectors into its schools and colleges and puts the educators in a steel-frame, which it misnames efficiency. But in Ancient India kings had been the nursing fathers of Education, they even built Universities and poured their treasures at their feet but claimed in them no control. The state did interfere in matters of discipline (*Kautilya's Arthaśāstra*, R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans., p. 224, *ante*, p. 146), but it was on the side of leniency: it sought to counteract undue severity or rigour (*Manu VIII.*

²⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

²⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

²⁵⁹⁹ Blockman and Jarret's Eng. Trans., I. p. 278; Gladwin's Eng. Trans., 223,

²⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 156.

²⁶⁰¹ Ibid., p. 24.

299—300; Gautama ch. II. *ante*, p. 141) or to enforce the terms of indenture between a mastercraftsman and his apprentice (Nārada V. 19.; Bṛhaspati XVI. 6; Yājñabalkya II. 187; Gautama II. 43—44; *ante*, pp. 207-209). The kings, as the numerous South Indian inscriptions testify, usually gave the endowments to the village assemblies who used to watch over the management of the seats of learning in the locality. (See *ante*, pp. 325-29). Even when a king wanted to bestow patronage on a poet, he did it through some village assembly. The assembly of Tribhubana Mahādevi Chaturvedimangalam awarded, under orders of Kulottunga I half a *veli* and two *ma* of land to the poet Tirunārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭan, as reward for his poem in praise of the king's exploits (Madras Ep. Rep., No. 198 of 1909). Similarly, the Tamil Academy was summoned by kings but it was the Academy and not the king who regulated state patronage and set the stamp of approval on Tamil works. Again, a monarch might enter into the Convocation of a University but no one rose to greet him and he took his seat like any other visitor, but on the entrance of its Head, the 'Venerable of Venerables (Atisa)' all rose and turned their faces towards him and in silence awaited his words.²⁶⁰³ In the Avariya Jātaka²⁶⁰⁴ the law is taught to the King of Benares, who listens with folded hands, behind the teacher, sitting on the ground.²⁶⁰⁵ The University was the Temple of Learning and the learned were its only Hierophants. When Learning visited Royalty, when a wise one entered a court, even Śrī Kṛṣṇa descended from his throne and bowed at the feet of the sage.

²⁶⁰³ S. C. Das—Indian Pandits in the Lands of Snow, pp. 59—60.

²⁶⁰⁴ Jātaka III. 229.

²⁶⁰⁵ In the Chāvaka Jātaka (Jātaka X. 309) a king of Benares is taught the sacred texts. The pupil is on a high seat, under the mango tree, the teacher on a lower seat, during the lesson. The Bodhisattva realises that it is against good form.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIETY IN ANCIENT INDIA.

We have already referred to social efficiency as the aim of Ancient Indian education. In the parting words a teacher generally addressed to his student²⁶⁰⁶ when he was permitted to return home after the completion of his studies, we have already seen how the householder's life and fatherhood are enjoined as a compulsory religious duty in the interests of the continuity of the race, how the duty of studying and teaching the Veda is enjoined in the interests of the continuity of culture, how the duties of domestic and social life are indicated by asking the student to honour father, mother, teacher and guests as gods, to honour superiors, to give in proper manner and spirit, in joy and humility, in fear and compassion, to perform sacrifice, to look after his health and worldly prosperity and in all doubtful cases to order himself according to the judgment of approved authorities. In another passage²⁶⁰⁷ learning and teaching the Veda are enjoined together with marriage, fatherhood, grandfatherhood, the pursuit of right, truth, penance, restraint, tranquility, consecration of fires, sacrifice, entertainment of guests and social duties. Indeed, as the student was enabled to carry on his studies with the help of the ungrudging charity of his fellow-countrymen it is quite natural that from the very beginning he would realise his duty to the society and the community at large.

Even the ascetics were not against social service: they left the world to give the law unto the world. They did not confine their knowledge and wisdom to themselves but were anxious to impart it to their fellows in society. As Hiuen Tsang remarks: 'Forgetting fatigue', they 'expatiate in the arts and sciences'.²⁶⁰⁸ As a concrete example we can cite the case of the Buddha whose spirituality was consistent

²⁶⁰⁶ Tattiriya Upaniṣad I. 11.

²⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., I. 9.

²⁶⁰⁸ Watters—Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 161.

with the positivist ideal of social service. He was in the world and yet not of it. In the sphere of Politics and state-craft his advice was eagerly sought. If there is a feud between the Śākya and the Koliyas which may end in bloodshed, it is the arbitration of an ascetic that is invoked and stops it: If the Emperor of Magadha has a plan to crush the liberties of a neighbouring republic, the Buddha's opinion is to be first sought on its prospects? If there is a new chief appointed for the Śākya state, the Buddha must address him a discourse! He showed interest even in the wars of his times e. g., the two wars between Pasenadi, then king of both Kośala and Kāśi and Ajātaśatru, in the first of which the former had to retreat and in the second captured the latter, "his nephew" alive;²⁶⁰⁹ also the war between Vidudhava of Kośala and the Śākya which he vainly tried to prevent. Pasenadi consulted him on every point, whether it was a meal, the birth of a daughter, daily habits, the death of a grandmother at 120, law and judgment or war.²⁶¹⁰ Thus by instructing kings, the Buddha could influence their administration and the well-being of their subjects.

Indeed, the relation of Education to society is a vital one. 'It gives to the nation the priceless assets of learned and skilled men and women of high character to carry on the work in every department of national life. Learned men produce literature which raises the nation in the eyes of the world and far more important, spreads knowledge over the earth, literature which ennobles and inspires not only contemporaries but generations yet unborn. Science makes discoveries which add to human knowledge, increase man's power over the forces of Nature, and—if it treads only righteous paths—will preserve, uplift and strengthen human life and happiness. By education man's spiritual, intellectual, emotional and physical nature can be lifted from the savage to the saint, can poverty be abolished, can society be made fraternal instead of barbarous, can crime, the fruit of ignorance, be got ridden of, and international and social peace replace war and the strife of classes. Avidyā is the mother of poverty, of sorrow, of misery. It is darkness which the Sun of Vidyā must chase away.'

²⁶⁰⁹ Sam. N., I. 81-83.

²⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

It is on account of this importance of education that the ancient Hindus laid so great a stress on the acquisition of all knowledge and specially Vedic learning. Bhartṛhari²⁶¹¹ says that learning imbues a man with self-confidence and a winning personality; gives him reserve of power and resources, joy and happiness in the exercise of these and fame and glory in the locality where he lives; and ensures him friendship and guidance when abroad. Kalhaṇa²⁶¹² says: "The tree of learning which is ever laughed at by fools, does indeed, not show roots, blossoms and the like but bears its fruits at the time of distress by removing a man's misfortunes at one stroke". In the Mahābhārata²⁶¹³ we read: "*Learning*, bravery, skill, physical power and patience are the natural friends of a man (sahaja mitra). Through their help alone can one live happily". Śukrācārya²⁶¹⁴ says: "*Learning*, valour, skill, powers and patience are the natural friends: wise men follow these". "Good *learning* always leads to human happiness". "The wealth of *learning* is superior. It grows with gifts, is not burdensome and cannot be carried away (i. e., stolen)".²⁶¹⁵ "The man who does not find pleasure in teaching, *learning*, preceptors, gods..... arts, music.....and literature, is either a man who has attained salvation or a beast in the form of man".²⁶¹⁶ In Gautama Saṃhitā²⁶¹⁷ we read: "Wealth, connections (rich friends) office, birth, deeds, *knowledge* and age are the factors which primarily add to the respectability of a person. But knowledge is the highest of them all, in as much as it is the source of health and virtues". Manu²⁶¹⁸ says: "wealth (honestly acquired), friends (relations), age, work and *erudition* (knowledge) which forms the fifth, these are the sources of honour, each succeeding one being more honourable than the one preceding (in the order of enumeration)". According to Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā²⁶¹⁹ "*learning*, wealth, age, relationship and occupation must be respected.

2611

Vidyā bhogakārī yasasasukhkarī vidyā gaurāṇāṃ guruḥ
Vidyā rājasu pūjita na tu dhanam.—Nīlātaka.

2612 Rājatar. IV. 530: Stein, I. pp. 170-71.

2613 Śāntiparva, 139th adhyāya.

2614 Śukranītisāra, Ch. IV. Sec. I. lines 25-26.

2615 Ibid., Ch. III. lines 360-61. Compare Ibid., lines 584-88.

2616 Ibid., lines 493-36.

2617 Ch. VI.

2618 II. 133.

2619 Ch. XI.

But each preceding one is more venerable (than the succeeding one)". In the Mahābhārata²⁶²⁰ Aṣṭabakra says: "Age, grey hairs, wealth, friends do not make a man old. He alone is designated by the ṛṣis as old and great who has mastered the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas". Manu²⁶²¹ says: "Neither by years (age) nor by grey hairs, neither by wealth nor by friends (relations) does one become great. The ṛṣis made a compact of yore that, 'he of us who will study the entire Veda with the allied branches of study will be called great' ". "Grey hairs do not make an old man; a young man who has studied, the Devas designate him as really old".²⁶²²

According to Kātyāyana Saṃhitā there is no sacrifice superior to Brahmayajña.²⁶²³ "Constant study of the Vedas" says Manu²⁶²⁴ "brings to a man the remembrances of his past experiences (Jāṭismara)." "Remembrance of his past births makes him apathetic to the world and its concerns and lead him to attain Supreme Brahman, and eternal happiness (beautitudes).²⁶²⁵ According to Yājñabalkya²⁶²⁶ "the consideration of the meaning of Vedas and other scriptural works enables a man to acquire emancipation." Again "of sacrifices, asceticism and sacred rites, the Veda alone is more powerful in bringing emancipation unto the twice-born ones."²⁶²⁷ "Brahmins who study the Vedas and perform each day the religious sacrifices known as Pañcha-yajña are the wielders of the three worlds and serve as the supports of men, who are addicted to the enjoyment of the five senses."²⁶²⁸ According to Yājñabalkya "a twice-born person who daily studies the Vedas, reaps the fruits of giving away thrice the earth full of riches (as well as those) of the best ascetic observances."²⁶²⁹ "The twice-born one, who studies the Vedas, becomes capable of (effectively) cursing or granting boon to other

²⁶²⁰ Banaparba, 132nd adhyāya.

²⁶²¹ II, 154.

²⁶²² Manu, II, 156.

²⁶²³ Brahmayajña means the study of the Vedas with their six auxiliaries (Dakṣa Saṃhitā, II, 26).

²⁶²⁴ IV, 148.

²⁶²⁵ Manu IV, 149.

²⁶²⁶ III, 156-59.

²⁶²⁷ Yājñabalkya I, 40.

²⁶²⁸ Parāśara Saṃhitā, VIII, 28.

²⁶²⁹ I, 48.

persons and lives in the regions with the ṛṣis, after death."²⁶³⁰ "Even a little study of the Vedas stand their twice-born reader in good stead both in this world and the next."²⁶³¹ "By studying all the Vedas one is immediately freed from sorrow."²⁶³² "As duly consecrated fires in cremation grounds consume the sins and impieties of the cremated, so the brāhmaṇas, illumined with the light of knowledge, consume all sins and become like the gods."²⁶³³ "A learned Brahmin rescues the family by seven and seven (i. e., seven generations upwards and seven generations downwards)."²⁶³⁴ "Non-study of the Vedas," on the other hand, "extinguishes the prestige of a good family"²⁶³⁵ and "leads to the destruction of Brahmins."²⁶³⁶

"Hence the gift of learning is superior to all gifts."²⁶³⁷ In the *Mahābhārata*²⁶³⁸ Bhīṣma speaks to Yudhiṣṭhir in the same strain: "If a man imparts instruction in the Vedas to a pupil, he is making a gift equal in merit to the gifts of the whole earth and of cow." "One who gives it (the Veda) with an end in view to a non-deceitful brāhmaṇa and to one's own kinsmen headed by the son, attains to the celestial region; and if disinterestedly, to emancipation."²⁶³⁹ Kātyāyana²⁶⁴⁰ speaks in the same strain: "There is no gift superior to that of the Vedas (i. e., deliverance gratis of Vedic instructions)." According to Yājñabalkya²⁶⁴¹ "the Veda is the highest gift; by giving it, one acquires the undecaying region of Brahmā."

So great was the importance of studies, specially Vedic learning that even householders,²⁶⁴² not merely bonafide students, were

²⁶³⁰ Vyāsa Saṃhitā, I. 37.

²⁶³¹ Ibid., I. 39.

²⁶³² Bṛhaspati Saṃhitā, I. 79.

²⁶³³ Parāśara Saṃhitā VIII. 29; Manu XI. 246; Manu XI. 263; Manu XI. 264; Manu XII. 101; Atri Saṃhitā I. 133; Kātyāyana XIV. 14.

²⁶³⁴ Bṛhaspati Saṃhitā, I. 61.

²⁶³⁵ Manu, III. 63.

²⁶³⁶ Manu V. 4. For other passages extolling Vedic studies see Manu II. 107; XII. 102, 103; Yājñabalkya I. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45-46; III. 190. Kātyāyana XIV. 9-14; Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva 235th adhyāya; Ibid., Anuśāsanaparva, 90th adhyāya.

²⁶³⁷ Atri Saṃhitā, I. 333.

²⁶³⁸ Anuśāsanaparva, 69th Adhyāya.

²⁶³⁹ Atri Saṃhitā, I. 333.

²⁶⁴⁰ XIV. 18.

²⁶⁴¹ I. 212.

²⁶⁴² Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 191st adhyāya.

enjoined to cultivate them. Vyāsa²⁶⁴³ says: "The best of brāhmaṇa (householders) should study the Vedas, Itihāsas and kindred branches of knowledge (Vedāṅgas) and give instructions to his own pupils." "He (the householder) should then spend the sixth and seventh part of the day in the study of the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas."²⁶⁴⁴ The Dakṣa Saṃhitā²⁶⁴⁵ mentions the study of the Veda as one of the nine duties which should be publicly done by a householder. Manu²⁶⁴⁶ mentions the study of the Vedas and teaching the Vedas to pupils, as among the six duties of every brāhmaṇa (householder). According to Parāśara Saṃhitā²⁶⁴⁷ "a brāhmaṇa (householder) who daily performs the six religious duties (mentioned by Manu) never suffers any bad luck in life." Among the six duties enjoined upon a brāhmaṇa householder by Parāśara²⁶⁴⁸ the study of the Vedas is one. Manu²⁶⁴⁹ says: "He (the twice-born householder) shall peruse each day, śāstras whose perusal serves to improve the intellect as well as those which treat of the art of money-getting. Likewise he shall study the Nigamas which elucidate the true import of the Vedas." "Let him not omit performing ṛṣi-yajña²⁶⁵⁰ according to the best of his might."²⁶⁵¹ Vaśiṣṭha²⁶⁵² says: "(A house-holder) must be busy with reciting the Veda." Viṣṇu²⁶⁵³ says: "Let him (the householder) not renounce the study of the Vedas."²⁶⁵⁴

Even Vānaprasthins were enjoined to study the Vedas.²⁶⁵⁵ Yājñabalkya²⁶⁵⁶ says: "He (the vānaprasthin) should be given to Vedic studies." According to Sāṃkhya Saṃhitā²⁶⁵⁷ "he should daily study the Vedas." "Let him (the vānaprasthin) be always devoted to the

²⁶⁴³ III. 4.²⁶⁴⁴ Dakṣa Saṃhitā, II. 52.²⁶⁴⁵ III. 8-14.²⁶⁴⁶ X. 75.²⁶⁴⁷ I. 37.²⁶⁴⁸ I. 38.²⁶⁴⁹ IV. 19.²⁶⁵⁰ The study of the Vedas is known as ṛṣi-yājña (Manu III. 81), for by such study one can repay his debt to the ṛṣis who are the founders of his religion and culture; see ante, p. 16).²⁶⁵¹ Manu IV. 20.²⁶⁵² Ch. VIII.²⁶⁵³ XCIV. 6.²⁶⁵⁴ For passages of a similar import see Vyāsa III. 9-10; Dakṣa, II. 52, 54; Vaśiṣṭha Ch. VIII.²⁶⁵⁵ Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 191st adhyāya.²⁶⁵⁶ III. 48.²⁶⁵⁷ VI. 4.

study of the Vedas."²⁶⁵⁸ *Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā*²⁶⁵⁹ says: "Let one renounce all the religious rites but not (the recitation of) the Veda. By discarding the Veda one becomes a śūdra and therefore one shall not renounce the Veda".

Indeed, as we have already seen (*ante*, p. 181f.) knowledge, at least in the early period, was looked upon as the primary qualification for the recognition of a person as brāhmaṇa. Even in later times when Brahminhood came to depend upon birth, Vedic learning was looked upon as almost the compulsory duty of all brāhmaṇas. Thus we are told: "the S'ruti and the S'mṛti are the two eyes of the brāhmaṇas created by God. If deprived of (the knowledge of) the one, a person is called one-eyed; and if of the two, blind".²⁶⁶⁰ The same verse is repeated in *Atri Saṃhitā*²⁶⁶¹: "The S'ruti and the Smṛti are described as the two eyes of the bipras. One who is deficient in either of the two is described as one-eyed; and one who is deficient in the both, as stone-blind". According to *Vaśiṣṭha Saṃhitā*²⁶⁶² "the brāhmaṇas who *neither study nor teach the Vedas*, nor maintain the sacred fires, become of the conduct of śūdras. Without studying the Rk, one does not become a brāhmaṇa. They quote a śloka from Manu on this subject: 'A twice-born person who not having studied the Veda, spends his labour on another (subject), soon falls, even while living, to the condition of a śūdra and his descendants after him'".

Hence even brāhmaṇas when they were unlearned were looked down upon by society "A brāhmaṇa" says *Vyāsa*²⁶⁶³ "who has not studied the Vedas, does, like a wooden elephant, or a leather-deer, but bear the name of the genus he belongs to." "Like a deserted hamlet, like a waterless well, a brāhmaṇa, who has not read the Vedas is a brāhmaṇa only in name."²⁶⁶⁴ "An elephant made of wood, an antelope made of leather and a brāhmaṇa indisposed to the study of the Vedas—these three have nothing but the name."²⁶⁶⁵

²⁶⁵⁸ Manu VI. 8.

²⁶⁵⁹ *Hārīṣa Saṃhitā*, I. 25.

²⁶⁶⁰ Ch. III.

²⁶⁶¹ *Vyāsa* IV. 38.

²⁶⁶² Ch. X.

²⁶⁶³ I. 344.

²⁶⁶⁴ IV. 37.

²⁶⁶⁵ Manu, II. 157; *Parāśara*, VIII. 23; *Vaśiṣṭha*, Ch. III.

Parāśara²⁶⁶⁶ says: "Like a waterless well, like a deserted hamlet, like a homa done without fire, meaningless is the life of a brāhmaṇa who is without any mantram." "Like a sexual intercourse by a eunuch, like seeds cast in a barren soil, like a meritless gift made to an ignorant person, meaningless is the life of a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Ṛk verses."²⁶⁶⁷ Manu²⁶⁶⁸ speaks in the same strain: "As a eunuch is sexually fruitless in respect of a woman, as (sexually) useless is the meeting of two cows, as fruitless is the gift to an ignorant, so fruitless is the life a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Ṛks." "A brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Vedas is like unto a rush fire that is soon extinguished."²⁶⁶⁹ Parāśara²⁶⁷⁰ further says: "A council consisting of thousands of persons, who are brāhmaṇas only in name, should not be honoured with the dignity of a Pariṣad." Atri²⁶⁷¹ says: "A bipra who does not know the true nature and being of Brahman but is always proud of his sacrificial thread is for that sin called a paśu." According to Kautilya²⁶⁷² the balls of meal offered to his ancestors by a person not learned in the Vedas are unfit to be eaten by wise men."

It was, therefore, laid down that gifts should not be made to unlearned Brahmins."²⁶⁷³ The wretch of a (blind) man who has no knowledge of the śruti and the smṛiti should not be given any present at a śrāddha."²⁶⁷⁴ Manu says;²⁶⁷⁵ "To a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Vedas, oblations must not be offered, as no one casts fire-offerings in the ashes." "As a sower by sowing seeds in an alkaline soil reaps no harvest, so a giver, by giving oblations to (i. e., feeding) a brāhmaṇa, ignorant of the Vedas (in connection with a śrāddha) derives no benefit."²⁶⁷⁶ A virtuous man, therefore, must not make even an insignificant gift to a brāhmaṇa who is not read in the

²⁶⁶⁶ VIII. 24.

²⁶⁶⁸ II. 158.

²⁶⁷⁰ VIII. 22.

²⁶⁷³ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans.),
p. 33.

²⁶⁷⁴ Atri Saṃhitā, I. 345.

²⁶⁷⁶ Manu III. 142.

²⁶⁶⁷ Parāśara Saṃhitā, VIII. 25.

²⁶⁶⁹ Manu III. 168.

²⁶⁷¹ I. 372.

²⁶⁷⁵ Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparva,
37th adhyāya.

²⁶⁷⁶ III. 168. Compare Manu III. 131;
Kātyāyana, XV. 7.

Vedas."²⁶⁷⁷ "A gift should be made to an erudite person living at a distance in preference to an illiterate one living close by one's house. Nothing can be humiliating to an illiterate brahmana."²⁶⁷⁸ Brhaspati²⁶⁷⁹ says: "If an ignorant person lives in one's own house and one vastly read in the śruti at a distance, presents should be made unto the one who is master of the Veda. There is no sin in superseding the ignorant wight." Kātyāyana²⁶⁸⁰ says: "There is no sin in superseding a brāhmaṇa who is divorced from Vedic learning. Leaving aside a burning fire, one should not offer oblations to ashes." Vyāsa²⁶⁸¹ says: "By not making a gift to a brāhmaṇa, ignorant of the Vedas, one does not commit the sin of insulting a brāhmaṇa. Oblations are cast in the sacred fire, not in its ashes." "Tho cereals (food grains in one's store) begin to dance with pleasure on the arrival of a modest erudite brāhmaṇa at one's house, saying 'We shall come by a better fate.'"²⁶⁸² "Grains of rice given to a Brahmin who has neglected the study of the Vedas begin to cry in dismay 'What evils have we committed to be punished with a such a degradation?'"²⁶⁸³ "Gifts made unto an illiterate brāhmaṇa, like seeds sown in a sandy soil or clarified butter kept in a pot of ashes or libations poured over burnt out cinders, prove abortive."²⁶⁸⁴ Atri²⁶⁸⁵ says: "Leaving aside learned brāhmaṇas one should not make any gifts to any other persons. I have neither seen nor heard of any such course."

Hārīta²⁶⁸⁶ goes further and says: "To make gifts and offer food unto a brāhmaṇa who is ignorant of the śruti and the smṛiti encompasses the destruction of one's family." "Like a man attempting to cross (a river) with the aid of a stone-raft, both the ignorant donor and acceptor of a gift are drowned."²⁶⁸⁷ "By giving a well-gotten wealth

²⁶⁷⁷ Mann IV. 192.

²⁶⁷⁸ I. 60.

²⁶⁸¹ IV. 35.

²⁶⁸² Ibid., IV. 51. Compare: In the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsanaparva, 90th adhyāya).

Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhir: "A Brahmin devoid of learning is a pañkti-dūṣaka.

Food taken by him at a śrāddha is food taken by a rākṣasa."

²⁶⁸⁴ Vyāsa IV. 62.

²⁶⁸⁶ I. 24.

²⁶⁷⁹ Vyāsa Saṃhitā, IV. 33.

²⁶⁸⁰ XV. 9.

²⁶⁸³ Vyāsa Saṃhitā, IV. 50.

²⁶⁸⁵ I. 336.

²⁶⁸⁷ Mann IV. 194.

to an illiterate brāhmaṇa, both the donor and the donee come to grief in the next world."²⁶⁸⁸ According to Manu²⁶⁸⁹ "A brāhmaṇa ignorant of the Vedas, shall have to eat as many morsels of burning spear-heads, after death, as he eats of the śrāddha oblations to the manes and deities, in life." "The life duration of an ignorant brāhmaṇa suffers, if he accepts a gift of gold or food grains; by accepting the gift of a land or a cow, he suffers in health; for accepting the gift of a horse, he is deprived of his sight, for accepting the gift of a cloth, his skin suffers, for accepting the gift of clarified butter, his energy and for accepting sesame his progeny are consumed."²⁶⁹⁰

In conformity with this attitude towards unlearned Brahmins it was laid down that learning could be acquired even from non-Brahmins when they are learned. Thus Manu²⁶⁹¹ says: "Women, gems, *knowledge* virtue, purity, good words (counsels) and the *various kinds of art* may be acquired from anywhere." "In times of distress, a brāhmaṇa student may take his lessons from a non-brāhmaṇa preceptor."²⁶⁹² Gautama²⁶⁹³ speaks in the same strain: "In times of distress a brāhmaṇa may learn an art or a science from a non-brāhmaṇa teacher."

It is no wonder, therefore, that the people will be asked to show great respect to the learned. Kautilya²⁶⁹⁴ says: "Such persons as are noted for their *learning*, intelligence, bravery, high birth or magnificent deeds shall be honoured." Manu²⁶⁹⁵ says: "Those brāhmaṇas who are foremost (i. e., well-read) in all the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas and whose ten ancestors were well-conversant with the Vedas are called Pañktipāvanas." Śukrāchārya²⁶⁹⁶ describes learned men as ornaments in palaces, assemblies etc. The utterance of a Vedavid is sanctifying.²⁶⁹⁷ "Ridden in the chariot of scriptures and wielding the swords of the

²⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁸⁹ III. 133.

²⁶⁹⁰ IV. 189.

²⁶⁹¹ II. 240.

²⁶⁹² Manu II. 241.

²⁶⁹³ Ch. VII.

²⁶⁹⁴ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 252.

²⁶⁹⁵ III. 184. Compare Manu III. 185, 186; Kātyāyana, XIV. 14; Gautama, Ch. XV.

²⁶⁹⁶ Śukranītisāra, Ch. IV. Sec. VII. lines 638-45.

²⁶⁹⁷ Atri Samhitā, I. 14.

Vedas in their hands, brāhmaṇas whatever they may speak even in fun is highly obligatory."²⁶⁹⁸ That religion is to be known as the highest which a leading brāhmaṇa, knowing the Veda follows—but not that which is followed by ten thousand illiterate persons.²⁶⁹⁹

One who daily studies the Vedas is an apūrva atithi.²⁷⁰⁰ One should bid farewell to a śrotriya guest by following him a little beyond the compound of one's own house.²⁷⁰¹ "A king or a *snātaka*, happening to call at his house, even within a year (of his last visit) on the occasion of a sacrificial ceremony, the householder shall welcome in the method of Madhuparkam and not otherwise."²⁷⁰² "Let him not wilfully leap over the shadow of his king or *preceptor* nor that of a divine image, nor that of a cow nor that of a *snātaka*."²⁷⁰³ According to Yama Saṃhitā²⁷⁰⁴ "one should give way to a wheelman, to an old man, to a bride, to a *snātaka*, to a king and to one of tender years who should be protected." Manu²⁷⁰⁵ says: "On the road one must give way to a carter, to a man of more than ninety years of age, to a sick folk, to a carrier of weights, to a woman, to a *snātaka*, to the king and to a bridegroom." "When all these meet together (on the road), greatest preference should be shown to the king and the *snātaka*. *Of a king and a snātaka the first shall give way (show respect) to the last.*"²⁷⁰⁶ Yājñabalkya²⁷⁰⁷ says: "An aged burden-carrier, a king, a *snātaka*, a woman, a diseased person, a bridegroom and a cart-man should (always) be given road; a king is adorable unto them all; *but a snātaka (even) to the king.*" Viṣṇu²⁷⁰⁸ says: "One must make way for an aged man, for one carrying a load, for a king, for a *snātaka*, for a sick person, for a woman, for a bridegroom and for a carter. All of these persons (meeting together) must make way for a king; and *even a king must make way for a snātaka.*" Vasiṣṭha²⁷⁰⁹ says:

²⁶⁹⁸ Parāśara Saṃhitā, VIII. 33.

²⁷⁰⁰ Parāśara I. 43.

²⁷⁰² Manu III. 120.

²⁷⁰⁴ Ch. VI.

²⁷⁰⁵ Manu II. 139.

²⁷⁰⁶ LXIII. 50-51.

²⁶⁹⁹ Atri Saṃhitā, I. 142.

²⁷⁰¹ Vyāsa III. 43.

²⁷⁰³ Ibid., IV. 130.

²⁷⁰⁵ II. 138.

²⁷⁰⁷ I. 117.

²⁷⁰⁹ Ch. XI. Compare Mahābhārata, Bana-parva, 132nd adhyāya.

"If one meets aged men, infants, sick-men, load-carriers and persons riding on wheels, he must give way to each of the latter. If a king and a snātaka meet, *the king must make way for the snātaka.*" The following śloka of Chāṇakya has become a common saying in India :

"Swadeśe pūjyate rājā vidwān sarbatra pūjyate"

"A king is respected in his own kingdom while a learned man is worshipped everywhere."

The śāstrakāras go even so far as to lay down that the very sight of a learned man is sacred. Thus Parāśara Saṃhitā²⁷¹⁰ says: "Holy is the sight of a brāhmaṇa well-versed in the Vedas, hence one should try to see him, every day." Kātyāyana Saṃhitā²⁷¹¹ says: "He, who rising up in the morning, sees a śrotriya (one learned in the śruti) becomes freed from all calamities."

It is no wonder, therefore, that gifts to a learned man would be looked upon as the highest gift.²⁷¹² "Eternal is the gift that is made unto a person who is well-read in the Vedas.....who studies the Vedas and has acquired knowledge."²⁷¹³ "The fruit of a gift is endless (when it is made unto) one who has mastered the Vedas."²⁷¹⁴ Parāśara²⁷¹⁵ says: "A gift made to a brāhmaṇa well-versed in the Vedas, tends to increase the longevity of its giver."

The society not only honoured its learned but also granted them *special privileges*. "If the king comes by any hidden treasure, he must give half of it to a brāhmaṇa. But (when) a learned Brahmin (happens to find out any) the (whole treasure) should go to him, for, he is the lord of all."²⁷¹⁶ Manu²⁷¹⁷ says: "In the absence of a

²⁷¹⁰ XII. 41.

²⁷¹¹ XIX. 9.

²⁷¹² The *Psychological basis of gifts* has been thus described by Kalhapa: The gathering of the clouds pleases the peacocks though it spreads darkness, while the wild goose is pleased by the breaking up of the clouds which brings clearness. From the mutual regard which the giver and recipient (of a gift) show for each other, there appears in the highest degree a *resemblance of tastes*." (Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I. 308; Stein, Vol. I. p. 46).

²⁷¹³ Bṛhaspati Saṃhitā, I. 56.

²⁷¹⁴ Dakṣa Saṃhitā, III. 26.

²⁷¹⁵ XII. 45. Compare Manu XI. 1-2.

²⁷¹⁶ Yājñabalkya, II. 35.

²⁷¹⁷ IX. 187-88.

samānodaka, his preceptor, and in the absence of a preceptor, his disciple (shall inherit one's property). In the absence of all kinds of relations, brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the three Vedas, pure, with their senses fully controlled, shall take (the) estates, whereby virtue will not be impaired." Kautilya²⁷¹⁸ says: "Property for which no claimant is found shall go to the king but not that of a brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas. That (the property of the learned) shall be made over to those who are well-versed in the three Vedas." "Men learned in the Vedas, persons engaged in penance as well as labourers may take with them salt for food; salt and alkalies for purposes other than this, shall be subject to the payment of toll."²⁷¹⁹ "Men learned in the Vedas may take from the fields ripe flowers and fruits for the purpose of worshipping their gods and rice and barley for the purpose of performing āgrayana, a sacrificial performance at the commencement of harvest seasons."²⁷²⁰ "Again, he alone is qualified to enter upon the life of a Yati who has studied the Vedas."²⁷²¹ He who maintains the sacred fire and studies the Vedas is purified in one day (of the impurity arising from birth or death).²⁷²² A Vahu-śruta, even if he has committed any delinquency, should not be punished, condemned or banished by the king from his native country."²⁷²³

The students also enjoyed certain *privileges*. Thus, they are exempted from paying ferry-tolls.²⁷²⁴ According to Kautilya²⁷²⁵ "commodities intended for the investiture of the sacred thread shall be let off free of toll". According to Viṣṇu Saṃhitā²⁷²⁶ "in case where by speaking truth a student is killed, a witness may speak untruth". A person holding an uninterrupted and continuous possession of property in the face of its owner, other than an infant or an idiot, shall acquire proprietary right therein. But such a continuous possession of a property owned by a śrottriya, king or an itinerant brahmachārin or by a

²⁷¹⁸ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 205.

²⁷¹⁹ Ibid., p. 99.

²⁷²⁰ Ibid., p. 146.

²⁷²¹ Dakṣa Saṃhitā, VI. 6.

²⁷²² Manu VIII. 407.

²⁷²³ Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 137.

²⁷²⁴ Yājñabalkya III. 57.

²⁷²⁵ Gautama Saṃhitā, Ch. VIII; compare Atri Saṃhitā, I. 133; also Ibid., I. 113,

²⁷²⁶ VIII. 15.

person of renowned virtues would not give rise to any title thereto in favour of the possessor".²⁷²⁷ Again, "a student does not infringe the rules of his order by carrying away, when dead, his *teacher* or his *sub-teacher* or his father or his mother or his guru".²⁷²⁸ On the death of one's *fellow-student* of the Vedas in the same house, the period of uncleanness is three days; on the death of one's *disciple* he shall remain impure for two days and the night between them (*pakṣini*).²⁷²⁹ According to Atri Samhitā²⁷³⁰ a brahmachārin (student) becomes immediately purified. According to Manu²⁷³¹ students are never affected by death or birth-uncleanness in as much as they are the representatives of Brahmā (on earth)".

It is no less interesting to find that in the selection of bridegrooms and government officers, *the education of the persons concerned was taken into consideration*. In the Mahābhārata²⁷³² Viṣṇu says to Yudhiṣṭhir: "If the guardian of the bride gives her in marriage to a bridegroom after making a satisfactory enquiry about the latter's *learning*, family-prestige and occupation, then it is called Brahmā marriage. Such a marriage is the most commendable form of marriage for Brahmins". Ś'ukrāchārya²⁷³³ says: "One may give his daughter even to a penniless man who possesses (proper) qualifications of age, *learning*, and beauty and should not judge a bridegroom by his beauty, age and wealth." He says further: "One should first examine the family, *then learning*, then age, then character, then wealth, then form and lastly the country of birth; marriage is to be entered into afterwards".²⁷³⁴ Among the qualifications of an ideal bridegroom Yājñabalkya²⁷³⁵ refers to his being "well-read in the Vedas." According to Yājñabalkya²⁷³⁶ the Royal High priest must possess among others the qualification of being "well-grounded in the *sāstras*" and "well-versed in the theory of Polity." According to Kautilya²⁷³⁷ the Royal

²⁷²⁷ Gautama Samhitā, Ch. XII.

²⁷²⁸ Manu V. 81.

²⁷²⁹ V. 93.

²⁷³⁰ Śukranitisāra, Ch. III. lines 344-45.

²⁷³¹ I. 35.

²⁷³² Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstri's Eng. Trans.), p. 17.

²⁷³³ Viṣṇu Samhitā, XXII. 85.

²⁷³⁴ I. 97.

²⁷³⁵ Anuśāsanaparva, 44th adhyāya.

²⁷³⁶ Ibid., lines 346-47.

²⁷³⁷ I. 313.

High-priest ought to possess among others the qualification of being "well educated in the Vedas and the six Angas" and "well versed in the science of government." According to Kāmandaka²⁷³⁸ the Royal High-priest should be well-versed in Trayī and Daṇḍanīti. According to S'ukrāchārya²⁷³⁹ one who is versed in mantras and rituals, master of the three sciences (Trayī).....equipped with a knowledge of the six angas and of the science of archery with all its branches, one who knows the science of morals as well as religious interests and master of military implements and tactics is the priest (of the king)." Thus not a mere knowledge of the technique of sacrificial rites and ceremonies but a sound liberal education is expected of him. In the Mahābhārata²⁷⁴⁰ Bhīṣma says to Yudhiṣṭhir that a minister must be well-versed in the śāstras, in military science and in nīti. Again, "he must be well-educated (suśikṣita), well-versed in tri-barga, in diplomacy, in the art of constructing phalanx and skilled in piercing through the enemy's ranks and in training and fighting on elephants."²⁷⁴¹ According to Manu²⁷⁴² a minister must be "conversant with the prices of lands, well-versed in the śāstras, with unmissing aims in archery or in the use of arms. According to Kāmandaka a minister must be "endowed with the knowledge of the śāstras"²⁷⁴³ and "proficient in śilpavidyā."²⁷⁴⁴ As a matter of fact we find that eminent men of learning with a deep and specialised knowledge of a particular science or art together with a general knowledge of a few other sciences were appointed as ministers. Thus Kautilya was the minister of Chandragupta Maurya. In Parāśara Saṃhitā²⁷⁴⁵ we are told of many similarly qualified ministers: "just as the religious guide Mādhava was the mantrin of king Bukkana, so was Brhaspati to Indra, Sumati to Nala, Medhātithi to S'aibya, Dhaumya to Yudhiṣṭhir, Svaujas to Prthu, Vaśiṣṭha to Rāma". While enumerating the qualifications which one must possess before

²⁷³⁸ Nītisāra, 4th sarga, śl. 32.

²⁷⁴⁰ Śāntiparba, 84th adhyāya.

²⁷⁴² VII. 54.

²⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., śl. 30.

²⁷³⁹ Śukranītisāra, Ch. II. lines 156-60.

²⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 117th adhyāya.

²⁷⁴³ Nītisāra, 4th sarga, śl. 25.

²⁷⁴⁵ Bombay edition, p. 3.

he can be thought fit for councillorship S'ukrāchārya²⁷⁴⁶ says that he must be "versed in the arts of politics". According to S'ukrāchārya²⁷⁴⁷ a brāhmaṇa judge must be "well-versed in the Vedas". "If the brāhmaṇa be not learned enough, the king should appoint a kṣatriya or a vaiśya who is versed in the Dharmaśāstras".²⁷⁴⁸ That human affairs being very complex, cannot be investigated by a judge versed in a single science was realised by S'ukra who says: "The man who has studied only one śāstra cannot investigate a case properly. So in all cases, the king should appoint men who know good many śāstras".²⁷⁴⁹ Similarly, a ministerial officer (amātya-sampat) must possess among others the qualification of being "well-trained in arts".²⁷⁵⁰ According to Kāmandaka²⁷⁵¹ those who besides other qualifications are endowed with learning (vidyā) and proficient in śāstra, artha and vyabahāra are fit for royal service. Even the courtiers should be proficient in the Vedas and conversant with the laws of morality (Yājñabalkya, II. 2). According to Kautilya²⁷⁵² an ambassador must possess among others the qualification of being "well-trained in arts". According to Manu²⁷⁵³ he must be "well-versed in all the śāstras". According to Kāmandaka an ambassador must be "proficient in the śāstras"²⁷⁵⁴ and "conversant with mantra-śāstra".²⁷⁵⁵ The Superintendents of Government departments must also possess among others the qualification of being "well-trained in arts".²⁷⁵⁶ In conformity with these regulations it was laid down that the king should 'increase the subsistence and wages of his servants in consideration of their learning and work'.²⁷⁵⁷

Intellectual proficiency in legal and religious literature was also looked upon as one of the qualifications for every aspirant after a position in the general assembly of some of the South Indian villages.

2746 Śukranītisāra, Ch. II. lines 333-36. 2747 Ibid., Ch. IV. Sec. V. lines 23-26.

2748 Ibid., lines 27-28.

2749 Ibid., lines 65-66.

2750 Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 16.

2751 Nītisāra, 5th sarga, śls. 13-14; Ibid., śl. 67.

2752 Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 34.

2753 VII. 63.

2754 Nītisāra, 13th sarga, śl. 2.

2755 Ibid., śl. 1.

2756 Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (R. Śyāmasāstrī's Eng. Trans.), p. 77.

2757 Ibid., p. 309.

mechanical arts which they needed for their caste-occupation. And when the popular elementary schools grew up to provide for the need of simple instruction, they also like the caste-training were largely utilitarian in their outlook. In this narrow vocational system there was no idea of study for the sake of study. The individual was being educated not so much for his own sake as for the sake of society and individualism came to have very little scope for development.

At the same time we should bear in mind that the ancient Indian system of education produced many great men and earnest seekers after truth and its output on the intellectual side is by no means inconsiderable. *The type of men turned out by it* may be best described in the words of Hiuen Tsang: "When they have finished their education and have attained thirty years of age, then their character is formed and their knowledge ripe. There are men who far seen in antique lore and fond of the refinements of learning are content in seclusion, leading lives of continence. These come and go outside of the world and promenade through life away from human affairs. Though they are not moved by honour or reproach, their fame is far spread. Though their family be in affluent circumstances, such men make up their minds to be like vagrants and get their food by begging as they go about. With them there is honour in knowing truth and there is no disgrace in being destitute. The rulers treating them with ceremony cannot make them come to court." They did not, however, confine their knowledge and worth to themselves but tried to share them with their fellows in society. Yuan Chwang²⁷⁵⁹ remarks: "Forgetting fatigue" they "expatiate in the arts and sciences," seeking for wisdom, while "relying on perfect virtue" "they count not 1,000 li a long journey."

It is not every age, it is not every nation that can boast of the type of men described by Hiuen Tsang. But the effect of the system of education was also seen in the *high level of average men* in ancient India. The most unimpeachable testimony on this point is furnished by the foreign travellers who visited India from time to time. Strabo says: "They are so honest as neither to require locks to their

²⁷⁵⁹ Watters—Yuan Chwang, I. 161.

doors nor writing to bind their agreements." Arrian says: "No Indian was ever known to tell an untruth."²⁷⁶⁰ Megasthenes writes: "They live happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem". Hiuen Tsang says: "The kshatriyas and brāhmanas are clean-handed and unostentatious, pure and simple in life and very frugal. They are pure of themselves and not from compulsion. With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are without craft and in administering justice they are considerate. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct and are faithful to their oaths and promises. In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude, whilst in their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness". Khang-thai, the Chinese ambassador to Siam says that Su-we, a relative of Fauchen, king of Siam who came to India about 231 A. D. on his return reported to the king that "the Indians are straightforward and honest".²⁷⁶¹ "In the fourth century Friar Jordanus tells us that the people of India are true in speech and eminent in justice".²⁷⁶² Feitu, the ambassador of the Chinese Emperor Yangti to India in 605 A. D. among other things points out as peculiar to the Hindus that "they believe in solemn oaths".²⁷⁶³ I-Drisi, in his Geography (written in the 11th century) says: "The Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well-known and they are so famous for those qualities that people flock to their country from every side".²⁷⁶⁴ In the 13th century Shams-ud-din Abu

²⁷⁶⁰ McGrindle in Ind. Ant., 1876, p. 92.

²⁷⁶¹ Max Muller—India: What Can it Teach us? p. 55.

²⁷⁶² Yule—Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 354.

²⁷⁶³ Max Muller—India: What Can it Teach us? p. 275.

²⁷⁶⁴ Elliot—History Of India As Told By Her Own Historians, Vol. I. p. 88.

Abdullah quotes the following judgment of Bedi-ezr Zeman: "The Indians are innumerable like grains of sand, free from deceit and violence. They fear neither death nor life".²⁷⁶⁵ Marco Polo (thirteenth century) says: "You must know that these Brahmins are the best merchants in the world and the most truthful, for, they would not tell a lie for anything on earth. If a foreign merchant who does not know the ways of the country applies to them and entrusts his goods to them, they will take charge of these, and sell them in the most loyal manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases to bestow".²⁷⁶⁶ The picture depicted by these accounts may be a bit overdrawn but making a due allowance for exaggeration, it is true to a great degree. As Professor Max Muller²⁷⁶⁷ says: "There must surely be some ground for this, for, it is not a remark that is frequently made by travellers in foreign countries even in our time, that their inhabitants speak the truth. Read the accounts of English travellers in France and you will find very little said about French honesty and veracity, while French accounts of England are seldom without fling at *Perfide Albion*!".

The national character of a people necessarily suffers from the unsympathetic domination of an alien people. Successful falsehood says Bentham is the best defence of a slave; and it is no wonder that the character of the Hindus deteriorated under Moslem and British rule. The wonder is, their character is still so high. Professor Max Muller²⁷⁶⁸ says: "I can only say that after reading the accounts of the terrors and horrors of Muhammadan rule, my wonder is that so much of native virtue and truthfulness should have survived". For, even under Moslem rule we constantly hear of brave deeds specially of the Rajputs and the Maharattas. Name a few heroes like Pratāp, Durgā Dās, Jaswānt, Hāmīr, Rāj Singh, Maun, Prthwīrāja and Śivāji and a volume is said. The rest

" Were long to tell ; how many battles fought,
How many kings destroyed and kingdoms won ".

²⁷⁶⁵ Max Muller—India: What Can it Teach us ?, p. 275.

²⁷⁶⁶ G. B. Parks—Marco Polo, p. 285; Yule—Marco Polo, Vol. II, p. 350.

²⁷⁶⁷ India: What Can it Teach us ?, p. 57.

²⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 72.

Sir Thomas Munro when asked if he thought the civilisation of the Hindus would be promoted by trade with England being thrown open, replied: "I do not exactly understand what is meant by the civilisation of the Hindus.....If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to luxury or convenience, schools²⁷⁶⁹ established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst one another and, above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo". Thus according to the standards both of the East and of the West the character of the Indians was high and honourable. This was undoubtedly the result of the grand system of education which they had evolved, a system which produced the most comprehensive literature and the best type of men.

Indeed the very visits of the Chinese pilgrims and Arab scholars are a testimony to the educational progress and moral greatness achieved by India. It was not on a pleasure-trip upon which they came out to India. They came on a sacred mission as a seeker after the saving knowledge, of which India had then the monopoly in the whole of Asia. No amount of dangers and difficulties presented by nature and man alike in the course of their travel in those days of difficulties of means of communication could damp the ardour and enthusiasm of so many foreign scholars for learning Indian arts and sciences. Indeed from the time of Kaṇṣka to that of Dharmapāla of Bengal, during the

²⁷⁶⁹ "In Bengal there existed 80,000 native schools, though doubtless for the most part of a poor quality. According to a Government Report of 1835 there was a *village school for every four hundred persons*"—Missionary Intelligencer, IX. pp. 183-93.

Sir Thomas Munro estimated the children educated at public schools in the Madras Presidency as less than one in three—Elphinstone's History of India, p. 205.

period of well nigh ten centuries, there had been a steady stream of Chinese students towards India, towards her many seats of learning, where they could drink at the very fountains of the wisdom which they sought. From the time of the Arab conquest of Sind there came into India from the Muhammadan kingdoms of Western Asia streams of Arab and Persian scholars like Barzouhyah,²⁷⁷⁰ Almuwaffak²⁷⁷¹ and others to acquire proficiency in the Indian sciences, specially Medicine,²⁷⁷² Astronomy²⁷⁷³ and Music.²⁷⁷⁴ Their pilgrimage to the Indian seats of learning is only a tribute paid by China, Arabia and Persia to the sovereignty of Indian thought, whose influence extended beyond the geographical boundaries of India to many foreign countries and thus built up a Greater India beyond her northern mountains and southern seas. Thus her educational system, *internally* made her fit for a free and full self-expression while *externally* she was enabled to impress her thought effectively upon her neighbours who turned to her as the home of the highest learning and culture in those days.

²⁷⁷⁰ P. C. Roy—History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. I. Introduction, p. 76.

²⁷⁷¹ Sachau's Alberuni, Preface, p. XXXII.

²⁷⁷² Ibid., p. XXXI.

²⁷⁷³ Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 255; Mill's History of India, Vol. II, p. 107.

²⁷⁷⁴ Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 272.

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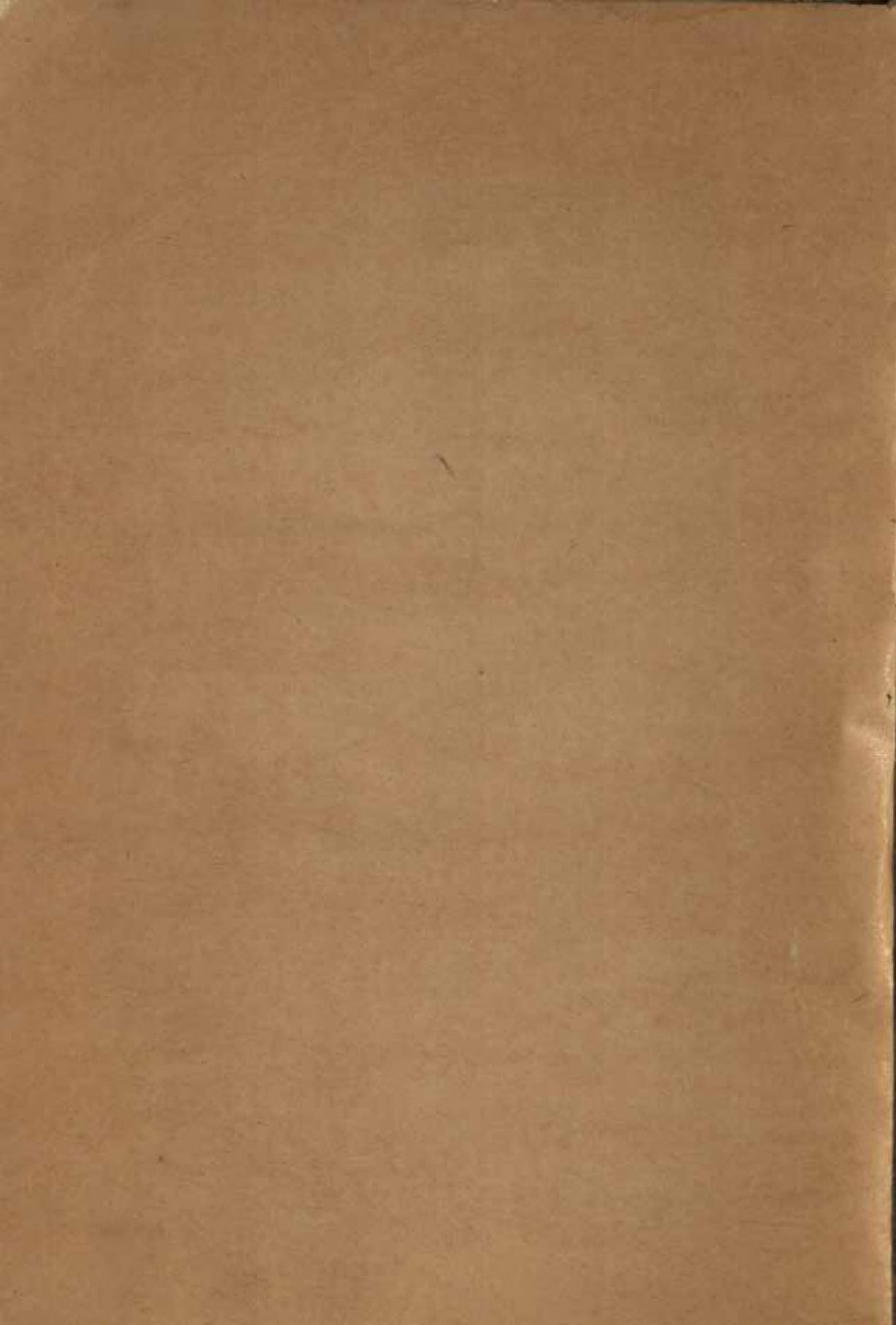
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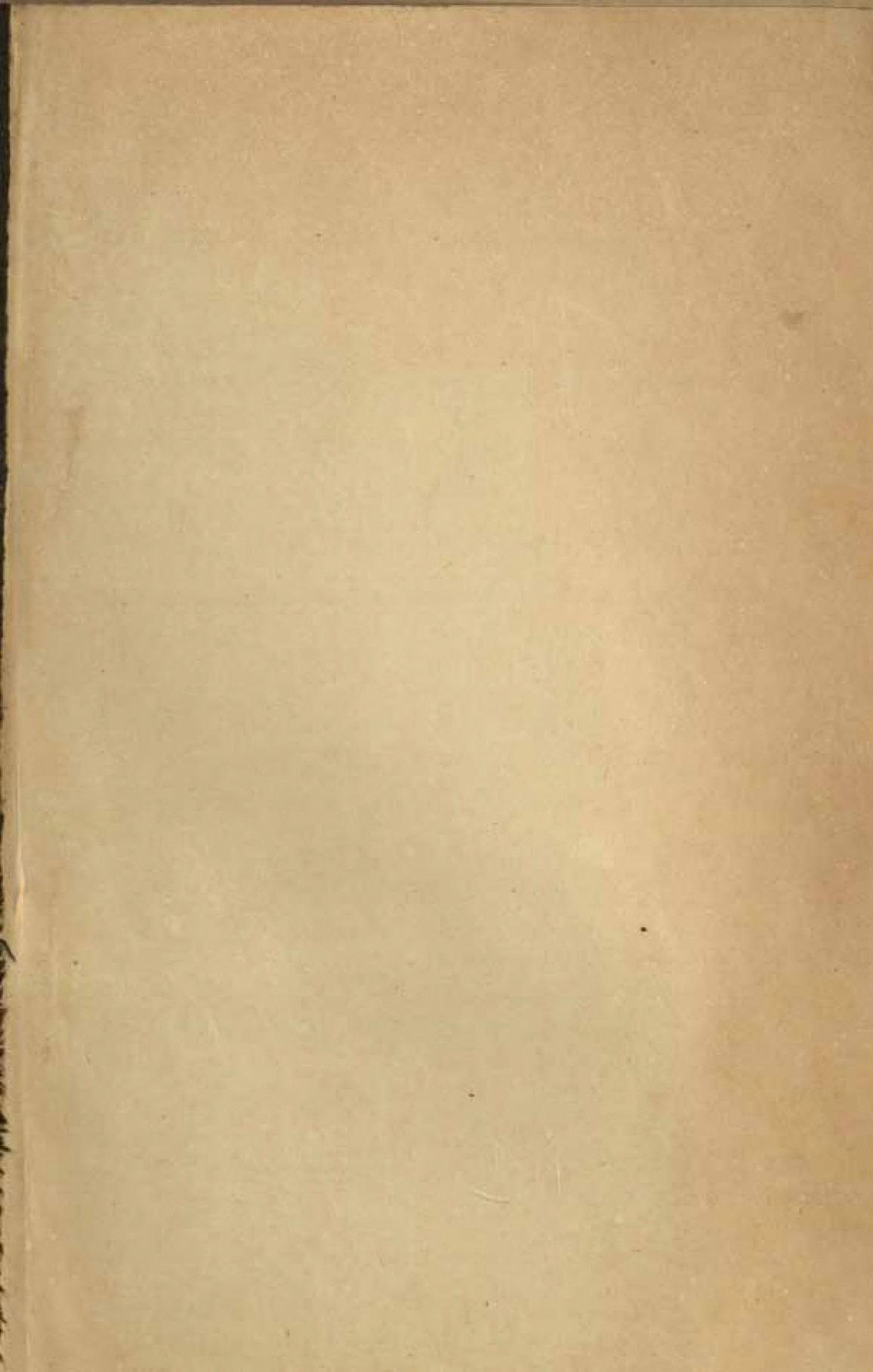
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